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CATALOGUE OF THE GEORGIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

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THE Georgian Manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library, described below, might properly be called Georgian manuscript fragments. They are without exception individual leaves of different codices which have come into the possession of the Library at different times and from various sources. The date of the documents varies over a wide range, from the earliest period of Georgian literary activity down to the last century, and the type of scripts employed is equally varied.

The provenance of these leaves is for the most part uncertain. Nos. 1 and 2 come from the Genizah of the Jewish Patriarchate at Cairo, and form part of the Taylor-Schechter Collection. The other leaves were acquired from I. von Tischendorf in 1876.¹ No. 3, as we shall see below, is a fragment by the same scribe who wrote a manuscript now at Oxford, which was once at Jerusalem; another is clearly Sinaitic in origin; and I should be inclined to believe that the majority of the fragments are derived from these same sources.

The importance for Georgian literature of these fragments, several of which are torn, stained, and very illegible, is out of all proportion to the size of the collection. The two palimpsest fragments of Jeremiah, together with another leaf from the same manuscript, which is preserved in the Bodleian, have opened up for us a wholly new epoch in the history of Georgian literature, and given an assured glimpse into its development at least two centuries earlier than had hitherto been possible. They afford a clue which led to the discovery of a series of kindred documents in the libraries of the Caucasus and elsewhere, and they have enabled us to add a new and unsuspected chapter to the history of the Georgian language. These revelations have

¹ Letter from A. F. Scholfield under date of January 27, 1931.

had unanticipated repercussions in other fields, such as the textual criticism of the New Testament. The fragment in capitals of IV Kingds. is one of the four bits of Georgian Old Testament text which we possess in this script; one of the others being the section of Jeremiah just mentioned. The portion of the *Ματθῆιον* of the Homerites is apparently a fragment from a sister codex to the Oxford manuscript, and moreover this latter tome appears to be an autograph of one of the most remarkable Georgian ecclesiastical worthies — Prochoré, who founded anew the monastery of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem about the year 1038.

I have accordingly gone into some detail in discussing the various fragments, and in particular have felt it advisable to examine carefully the text of the passages of Jeremiah. This portion of my study I have made into a separate article, which follows the technical description in the catalogue.

In the Catalogue here presented the fragments are arranged in approximate chronological order, The following tables exhibit the parallels between my own numbering and the accession numbers by which the leaves themselves are recorded in the Cambridge University Library.

Georgian ms. 1	Taylor-Schechter ms. 12,183
Georgian ms. 2	Taylor-Schechter ms. 12,741
Georgian ms. 3	ms. add. 1890.1 (6)
Georgian ms. 4	ms. add. 1890.8 (7)
Georgian ms. 5	ms. add. 1890.3 (15)
Georgian ms. 6	ms. add. 1890.4 (10)
Georgian ms. 7	ms. add. 1890.5 (9)
Georgian ms. 8	ms. add. 1890.7 (8)
Georgian ms. 9	ms. add. 1890.6 (9)
Georgian ms. 10	ms. add. 1891.1 (15)
Georgian ms. 11	ms. add. 1891.2 (8)

Taylor-Schechter ms. 12,183	Georgian ms. 1
Taylor-Schechter ms. 12,741	Georgian ms. 2
ms. add. 1890.1 (6)	Georgian ms. 3
ms. add. 1890.3 (15)	Georgian ms. 5
ms. add. 1890.4 (10)	Georgian ms. 6

MS. add. 1890.5 (9)	Georgian MS. 7
MS. add. 1890.6 (9)	Georgian MS. 9
MS. add. 1890.7 (8)	Georgian MS. 8
MS. add. 1890.8 (7)	Georgian MS. 4
MS. add. 1891.1 (15)	Georgian MS. 10
MS. add. 1891.2 (8)	Georgian MS. 11

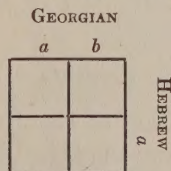
After these preliminary remarks we may now pass on to a description of the fragments themselves.

GEORGIAN MS. 1

(Taylor-Schechter MS. 12,183)

Fragment of a parchment leaf, roughly trapezoidal in shape, with a highly irregular outline. The extreme dimensions are: length 243 mm., breadth 184 mm. The parchment is of medium thickness, yellowed somewhat by age, and considerably stained and spotted. The edges are frayed from damp, and the body of the leaf is perforated here and there. The ink of the Georgian writing has eaten through the parchment in a few places where dampness has been at work, but the ink of the Hebrew writing has not done this.

The leaf is a palimpsest. The under (original) writing is Georgian in large capitals (*asomt'avruli*), while the upper writing is Hebrew. Each scribe wrote in two columns, but the Hebrew turned the page sideways, and, writing as he did from right to left, wrote crosswise over the Georgian, so that his first column is at the bottom of the Georgian page. The result can best be exemplified in a diagram.



We have here the major portion of the outer half of a Georgian manuscript leaf with a few fragments of the writing of the

inner column. In all, 18 lines are preserved in whole or in part in the outer column, and the incipits of 12 lines of the inner column. For convenience we shall term the outer column *a* and the inner column *b*. The width of column *a* is about 90 mm., and the distance between the columns about 20 mm. The Oxford leaf, which comes from the same manuscript and is complete, has 20 lines to the column; therefore two lines of the Georgian text have been lost here, either at the top or at the bottom.

The parchment was ruled lightly with a sharp point on the skin side with a single vertical guide-line for the outer column margins. The characters are written on the guide-lines. The ink of the Georgian script is now a bright orange brown, but it has been affected presumably by damp, and was originally the purplish brown which we often find in old Georgian manuscripts. That of the Hebrew is a reddish brown inclining to gray. Owing to the strong tinge of yellow, the under script comes out much better in the photograph than in the original.

The script is large, bold and striking, traced by the hand of a skilled scribe, but I should hardly call it elegant. As it is of great importance for Georgian palaeography, it has seemed advisable to give a careful tracing of the actual letters in addition to the facsimile reproduction of the leaf (Plates 1-2). This has been executed for the author by his wife (Plates 1A, 2A).

The date of the Georgian is a matter of conjecture, but for various reasons I am inclined to fix it about the middle of the eighth century. This point is discussed below, as will also be the palaeographical peculiarities of the script. This leaf is a portion of the same manuscript as No. 2, and also as manuscript Bodl. Oxon. Cod. Hib. C 1 (= manuscript Heb. 2672).

Contents

The Hebrew is a portion of the Jerusalem Talmud, Bābā Qāmā, ch. IX; it has been published by L. Ginzberg.¹

The Georgian text contains portions of Jeremiah xii. 10-16, in the so-called khanmeti dialect. It is here given in full as it

¹ See below, p. 225, note 4.

፩፡ ገጽ ፩፡

705

PLATE 1A. Cambridge University Library. Taylor-Schechter Ms. 12, 183:
Ms. Georgian 1 recto

stands in the manuscript: a point in place of a character means that the letter is not fully preserved but is reasonably certain; two points (:), that it is quite dubious. Characters in square brackets are restored from the context.

*recto**verso*

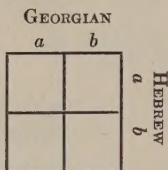
[.....]		[.....]	
ლ[]:[]თ].	
ნად და ოჯა		] : ოდ	
ლად და ჰიდვა] . [.]	
ოჯინოდ წარ		ოტნი სამკვდ	
საწყმ[ედ]ელად		რეპელსა თვ]:
რემ თვ განგირ	.....[	სა და კადად	] ა
ყოვნა განრ	თესით[	კადად [ქ]ოჯეა	] დ
ყოვნით ყოველი ქოჯ[ე]	კით[	ნასა თვსა .	] ირმაე
ყანა : : რ" არა	მათ . ი[	და ხიყვს ოჯ	] თ . . . ე
ვინ არს კაცი რ"ნ	სა . . . . [	კოვეთოჯ სწავ	] . . . ყა
მცა დაიდვა	ყა . . . . [	ლით ისწარნ	
გოვლსა თვსა	ვ . ტ . . . [	გზად ერისა	თვ
ყ ი აღსა		ჩემისად : და	.... ო
ვალი . . ოჯად		ფოვცვიდენ სა	ანო :
ნო . . სა		ხელსა [ჩ]ემსა	.....
დე სადრდ		ცხოვე[ლ] არს	..
[] . . []		ო"ი ვა [.] . ახ	
[.....]		წავეს ა	
		: : : : [] ო	

GEORGIAN MS. 2

(Taylor-Schechter MS. 12,741)

Two fragments of parchment forming part of the same leaf. This is incorrectly placed in the glass: the two sections should be transposed without turning. The width of both fragments is 230 mm.; the height is 116 mm. for A; 103 mm. for B; 20 mm. between columns. Each contains approximately one third of the leaf, from the top and the bottom of the page. This is a part of the same manuscript as No. 1 and as the Oxford leaf, but the script is distinctly smaller.

The fragments are roughly rectangular in shape, but the lower (*resp.* upper) margin is very irregular. They are palimpsests, but the Hebrew writing runs in the opposite direction in relation to the Georgian to what was the case in No. 1. In fragment A, parts of 8 lines are preserved in the left-hand column, parts of 5 in the right; in fragment B, 6 in the right and 4 in the left.



The fragments are somewhat more stained than is the case with No. 1, and none of the Georgian is left unconcealed by the Hebrew writing; but most of the Georgian text can be deciphered. It is not clear whether the writer of the Hebrew wrote in two columns or not. We reproduce the text (Plates 3, 4) and give a tracing of the under writing (Plates 3A, 4A).

The Hebrew text contains parts of the Jerusalem Talmud, tractate Bābā Qāmā, ch. VIII, published by L. Ginzberg.²

The Georgian contains recto: Jeremiah xx. 9b-10b and 10b-12, and verso: Jeremiah xx. 12-14, 14-16. The transcription follows:

ვითარცა გეცხლი აღვუე
ბოვლი შემწუე
ლი ძოჯაალთა
ჩემთა და და
]ჯცხნდი . [

] : ლი რ დ [
: : : : ვახა . . . : ხ
ხა ცთეს ხ^ო თოჯ
და შეხჯძდლოთ

მას და მოვი . [
შოჯრის გებ[ა]ა
ჩ^ონი . მის გ . [
და ლ^ოი ჩემ .
ვა მ . . . მო : ი
მ შედ მისა
]ვდებს
[დ . [

: :
ლოლ ძალთა[
გამდმ[.]დგ : []
სიმაართლი :
გოჯლის ხმის მყო

² See below, p. 225, note 4.

ሲገኝ
 ሲገኝ ሲገኝ ሲገኝ
 ሲገኝ ሲገኝ ሲገኝ ሲገኝ
 ሲገኝ ሲገኝ ሲገኝ ሲገኝ
 ሲገኝ ሲገኝ ሲገኝ ሲገኝ

ታርፍ ፅጌታዊ፡፡
 ሃወላታ፡፡
 ከፍ፡፡
 ፅጌታዊ፡፡
 ትግል፡፡
 ፅጌታዊ፡፡

፱ ሰ
 ፬
 ገጽ ሦ፻፲፱
 ስፊት
 ገጽ ሦ፻፲፱

፲፮
 ስፊት
 ገጽ ሦ፻፲፱

[illegible]

PLATE 4A. Cambridge University Library. Taylor-Schechter Ms. 12, 741:
Ms. Georgian 2 verso

[ფე]ლო გოვლისა	მშოჯა მე დედა
[და თი]რგოვმელ	მან ჩემმან
[თაო] მიხილა[ვს]	ნოჯ ხიყოფინ
]შოვრის ვე	ხალოცველ წყ
ბაჲ . ა . შენ	ეულ ხიყავნ[.]
გან ე . გ . . . .	. . . .
მი . .	

[ბო]როტ[]	
[] . თ :	
: ბოვლ ხიყავნ	[] : ინან[]
: ო . . რ ^ლ სა	[] ს მისთა[]
. . დღესა	ბაჲ განთიად
მას რ ^ლ სა	და გალაღაეზა

GEORGIAN MS. 3

(MS. Add. 1890.1)

Fragment of a page of thin parchment, originally white but now stained brown, which has obviously been removed from a binding. Georgian text in two columns, of which but one third of outer one preserved. On the back the text is badly worn and in part covered with glue, on which is offset Greek minuscule writing of ca. saec. XIV. The fragment is roughly rectangular, 149 by 136 mm.; width of column 78 mm.; space between columns 18 mm. Script small asomt'avruli of Sinai-Palestinian type. Ink black-brown. 15 lines of text preserved. Contains I Kings. xxiv. 3 ff. We give a reproduction of the recto (Plate 15). In brown paper envelope.

recto

რ^ლ მოჰკუეთა მან კიდჳ
იგი სამოხლისა მისისაჲ
და ჰ^ლქა დოთ კაცთა მათ
მისთა ნოჯ იყოფინ ჩემ
და დოზისა მიერ არა ვე
ო სიტყუაჲ გვე ოზისა ჩ
ემისა ზ^ლა . რ^ლ ცხებულო
ოჲმ არს იგი : და არწმოდ
ჳნა დოთ კაცთა მათ მ

. . ა დოთი
. ა ჰ^ლყნდ დ
ხცა მა სა]
ულს . რი
სიტყუა
რი გეტყვ
მიეგზ ს^ლ
აჰა ესე[რა
ლნთა იხი

ისტა ამით სიტყვა და	ენა ვ ^რ
არა უტევნა იგინი ად	ელთა .
დგომად და მოკლვა	ამას შ
დ საულისა:	გგე მ .
და აღდგა საულ გ ^რ ნთი	და . . .
ად	ო

On the verso only a few words can be deciphered in the right-hand column: the left is hopeless:

სთახ
მწყხო
საზა და . . მთ
. მომზადებად: end of line.
დ^რთ და გ^რცნი იგი მ
იყვნეს შინაგანსა
მას ქუაძსა

The Greek text of Codex B for the passages preserved is as follows:

vs. 4 . . . καὶ Δαυεὶδ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ ἐσώτερον τοῦ σπηλαίου ἐκάθηντο. . . .

vs. 6 . . . ὅτε ἀφείλον τὸ πτερύγιον τῆς διπλοΐδος αὐτοῦ. ⁷καὶ εἶπεν Δαυεὶδ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτοῦ. Μηδαμῶς μοι παρὰ Κυρίου, εἰ ποιήσω τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο τῷ χριστῷ Κυρίου, ἐπενέγκαι χεῖρά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὅτι χριστὸς Κυρίου ἐστὶν οὗτος. ⁸καὶ ἔπεισεν Δαυεὶδ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγοις, καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀναστάντας θῆσαι τὸν Σαοῦλ. καὶ ἀνέστη Σαοῦλ . . .

GEORGIAN MS. 4

(MS. Add. 1890.8)

One leaf of cream-colored parchment, 182 by 112 mm., script of original hand 135 by 104 mm., 22 lines to basic script, one column. Ruled faintly with sharp point, double guard-lines. Ink sepia brown, rather faded; headings in cinnabar. Written in Sinaitic nuskhuri, rather small, with corrections and additions by hand of Ivané-Zosimé (fl. 972–994 at St. Catherine's

on Mt. Sinai), hence saec. x. At top of page, quaternion mark $\cdot\cdot\frac{3}{2}\cdot\cdot$ that is, 6. Contains a leaf from a euchologion, or prayer-book:

recto

ღვწამ მგზავართა ზა : რჳი ყოველთა ადგილა ზრ და
ყლთა სცხრებელად გამაჩნდები .

Prayer for travellers: "Thou who art in all places and appearest to all for salvation."

ღვწამ გულის სიჭყთა თზ . ოჲ ღმთო ჩნო რწნა ტად
და მსგვსდ შოდ შეჭმენ კაცი და შთაჰბერე მას სული ცხოველი
...

Prayer concerning passions: "Our Lord God, after whose image and likeness thou hast created man, and hast infused into him a living soul. . . ."

ღვწამ ბრძიხა ყზა ეზა : ოჲ იხილე ჭმინი(?)ჩნნი . . .

Prayer of a monk (γέρων) at all times: "O Lord who be-
holdest our truth."

ღვწამ მოგზრთა (sic) ზა . . .

Prayer for travellers [in hand of Ivané-Zosimé].

verso (basic hand)

ძმამან ჰკითხა ვისმე : უცნებაა შემემთხუვის რაა ვყო
ვეზიარო ანუ არა გორცხა და სიხლსა ქეზსა .

A brother asked a certain one: admonition concerning a meeting; what shall I do? Shall I let him partake or not of the flesh and blood of Christ . . . [Part of text relined in blue-black ink. A bit of the Apophthegmata patrum].

Hand of I. Z: ლა მაზალესი (? *smearred and illegible*) inc.
ოჲ ყიზა მპყრობელო, O Lord Almighty: at end in capitals
ესე დამესა ეამთა მე-8 ჰბოლო, This shalt thou find in the
8th hour of evensong.

Hand of I. Z.: ლა ყლზა ემზა თქლი წოთა მცქლოთა,
Prayer for every hour; a saying of the holy apostles:
inc. ვილღავ შენდამი ოჲ, I pray unto thee, Lord.

GEORGIAN MS. 5

(MS. Add. 1890.3)

Fragments of three leaves of fine white parchment, lightly ruled with fine point on skin side. Two columns with 34 lines to a column, with single guide-lines for edges. The ink is blackish-brown. The leaves in their complete state measured 384 by 265 mm.; the columns 295 by 80 mm. with a gap of 24 mm. between columns. The script is a bold, stout, sloping nuskhuri, undoubtedly by the same hand as the Bodleian manuscript Georg. 1; this, as P. Peeters has shown,³ is that of Prochoré, who founded the Georgian colony at the monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem between 1038 and 1042. See Plate 6.

Contents

f. 1-2. Fragments of the *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀρεθᾶ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ* (BHG,² 166, p. 26, and BHO, 94-106). This belongs to the older version, the text of which is published by J. G. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, V, Paris, 1823, pp. 1-62, and thence in *Acta Sanctorum* Oct. X, 721-759. The fragments are from the earlier portion of the text. The fragment does not form part of the Oxford ms., as this passion does not appear in that corpus at all. We transcribe the text with the corresponding Greek passages.

f. 3. This text appears to form part of a life of St. Rhipsimé. Exactly what version the fragment belongs to is difficult to say. In any case it has nothing to do with the metaphrastic Georgian version published by L. Melikset-Bekov from ms. 384 (saec. xi) of the Society for the Extension of Literacy among the Georgians (Tiflis 1920). We give the fragment with an English translation.

recto 1a

ზო სოფელი ომეგონიტი
[ლთაჲ] ჰრქჳან სადა .
] ურედა
• უ
ო

μόνη ἡ χώρα τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν, ἥτις
λέγεται Σάβα, κατείδωλος ἐν δοκή-
σει . . .

³ *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXI, 1912, pp. 301 ff.

recto f.1b

და ძუელთა ქამთა
 რ^ალსა ქამსა იძლია
 მეფე იგი ომეწიგელ
 თამ ჰუწია
 ივლტოდა და შევიდა
 მთათა რ^ალთა მე მოც
 ვულთა და ძნელღვანთა :

] მოიქცა ელისაბა
]მეფე ეთიოპე
]სამეფოდ
]და დაუტევა
]და ერის
 [. ვად ყ^ალი
]ისა :-
]იმღ[

καὶ παλαιῶν χρόνων. συνέβη δὲ
 ἡττηθέντα τὸν Ἰουδαῖον βασιλέα
 τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν φυγεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ
 ἐν ὄρεσιν. ὄχυροις φρουρεῖσθαι,
 ὑποστρέψαι δὲ Ἐλεσβὰν τὸν βα-
 σιλέα τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ
 βασιλείᾳ, ἐάσαντα στρατὸν καὶ
 στρατιάρχην ἕνεκα παραφυλακῆς
 πάσης τῆς τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν χώρας.
 ὁ δὲ μισόκαλος δαίμων. . . .

verso f.1a

მის ქამისათა მათ
 თჳს ქ^ანეთა მისი
 მის გან მეფეობისათა:
 და შ^ად შეპყრობისა
 და მოხრვისა ყლ^ათა
 ქ^ანეთადა ად
 რა ერი თჳსი ბრძო
 ლად პ^ავლ თ^აქმლ[ისა
 მის თ^ას ქ^ას მ[
 რისა ქლ^აქის[
 მსა დაპყრ[
 რ^ა არს ს^ა + [
 რიტელთა[
 ით გერმ[
] . რ^აი[
] . [

καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 συσχεθέντας ἀνελεῖν Χριστιανούς,
 κινεῖ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτοῦ κατὰ
 τῆς εἰρημένης φιλοχρίστου πόλεως
 τῶν Νεγρानитῶν, πρὸς τὸ πορθή-
 σαι αὐτήν. ἔστιν δὲ ἡ χώρα τῶν
 Ὀμηριτῶν ἐκ νότου. . . .

verso f.1b

და არს სამეფობისა
 დღისა გზა [
 ვინ ლ[
 ს^ა +[

Ἡ δὲ Ῥωμανία ἐκ βορρᾶ τῆς τοι-
 αύτης χώρας μονὰς ἐξήκοντα, ὥστε
 διοδεύεσθαι. . . .

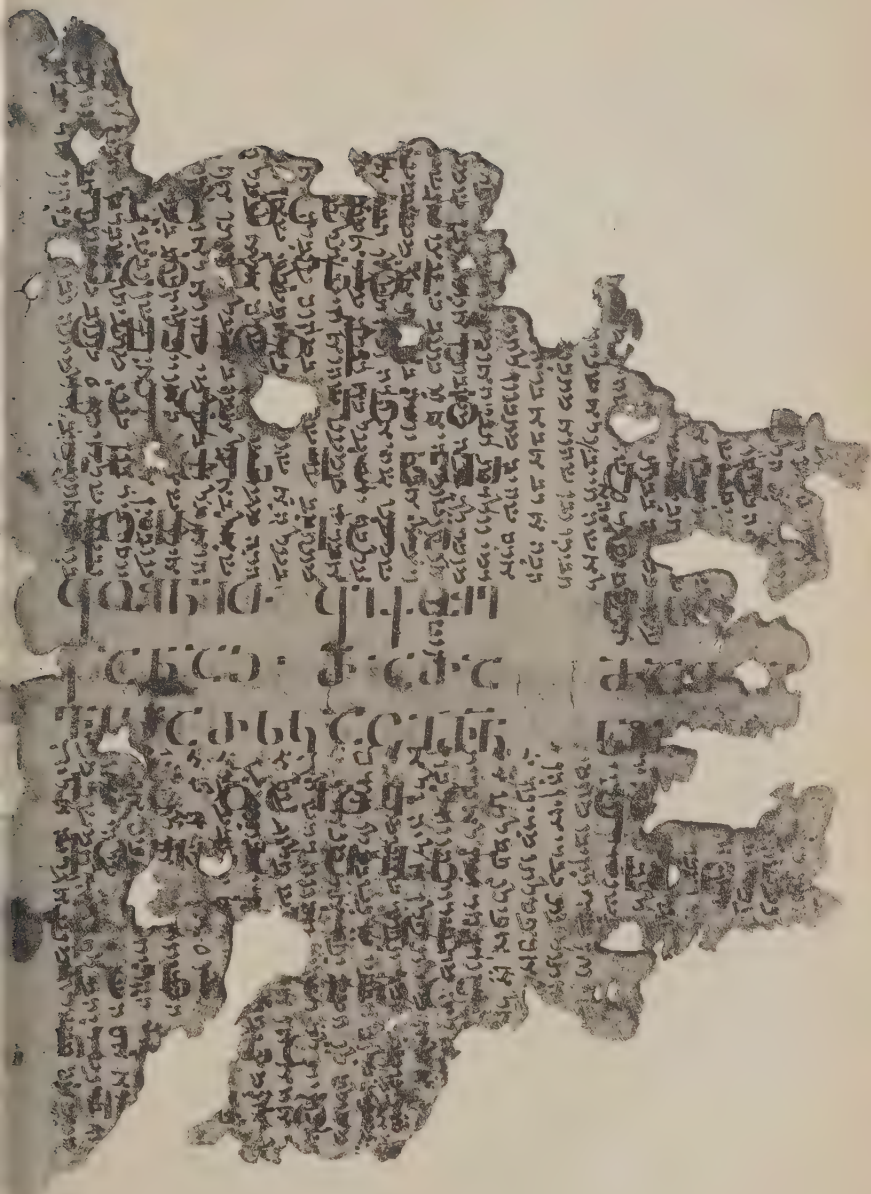


PLATE 1. Cambridge University Library. Taylor-Schechter Ms. 12, 183:

Ms. Georgian 1 recto

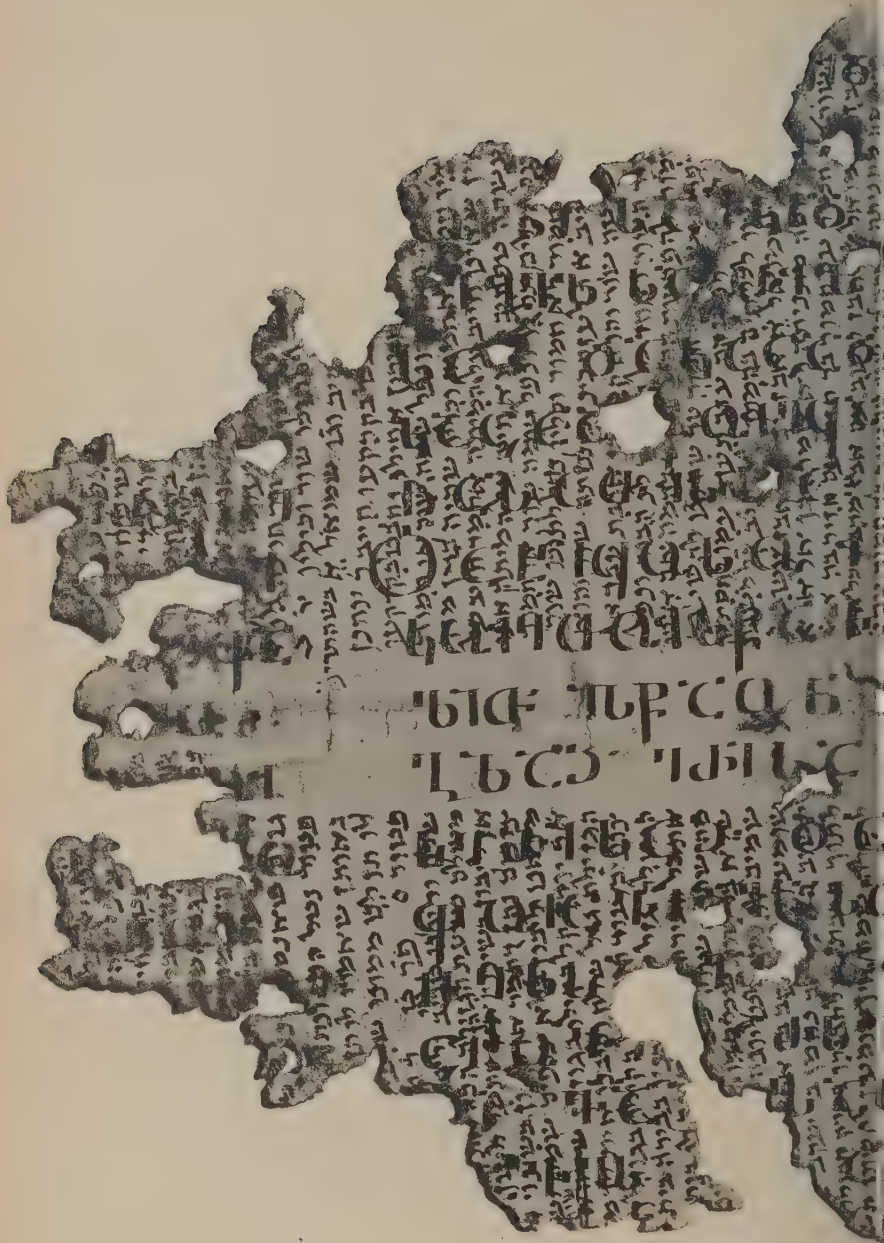


PLATE 2. Cambridge University Library. Taylor-Schechter Ms. 12, 183:
Ms. Georgian 1 verso

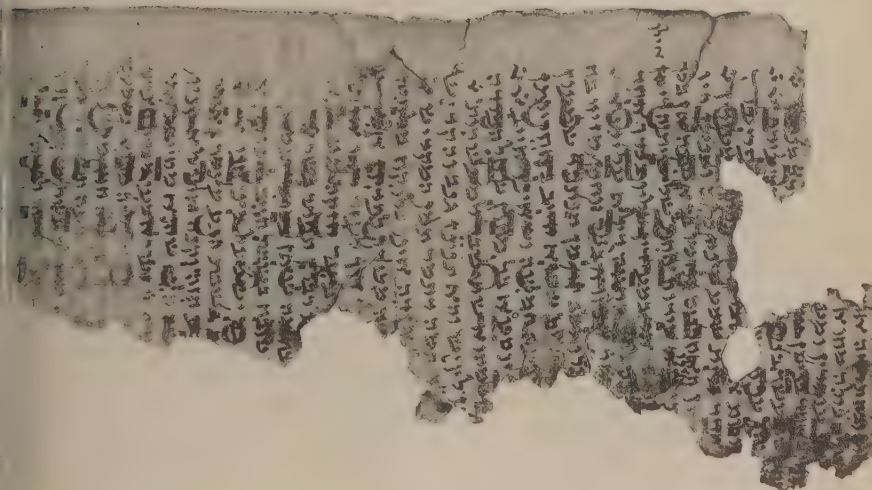
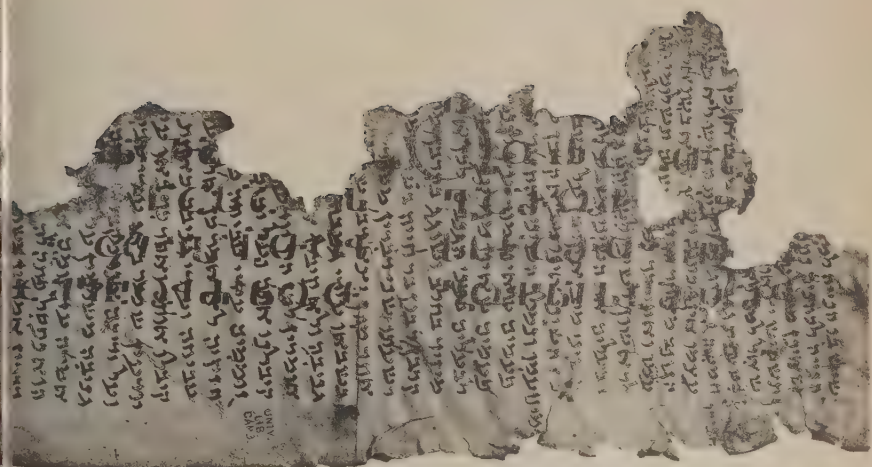


PLATE 3. Cambridge University Library. Taylor-Schechter Ms. 12, 741:
 Ms. Georgian 2 recto

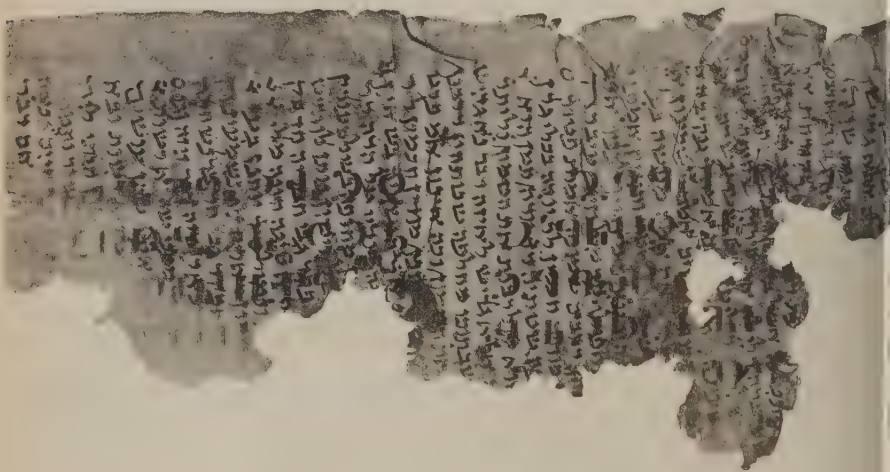
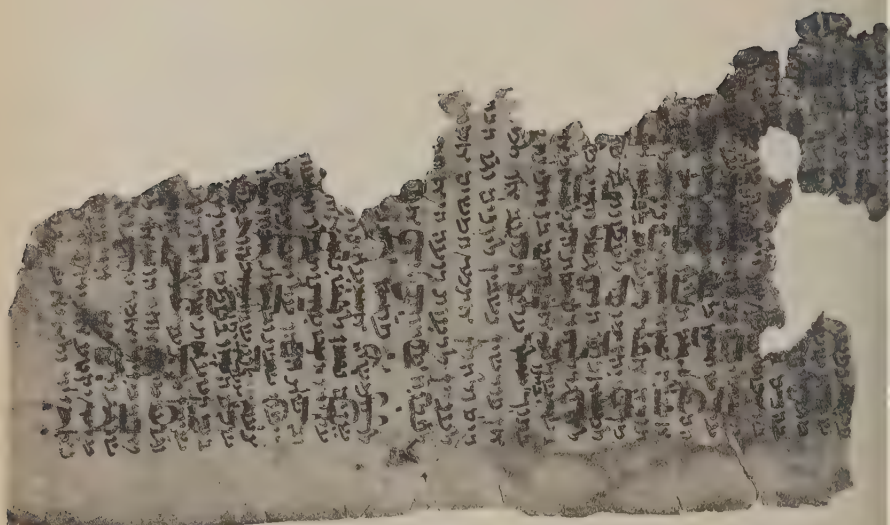


PLATE 4. Cambridge University Library. Taylor-Schechter Ms. 12, 741:
Ms. Georgian 2 verso

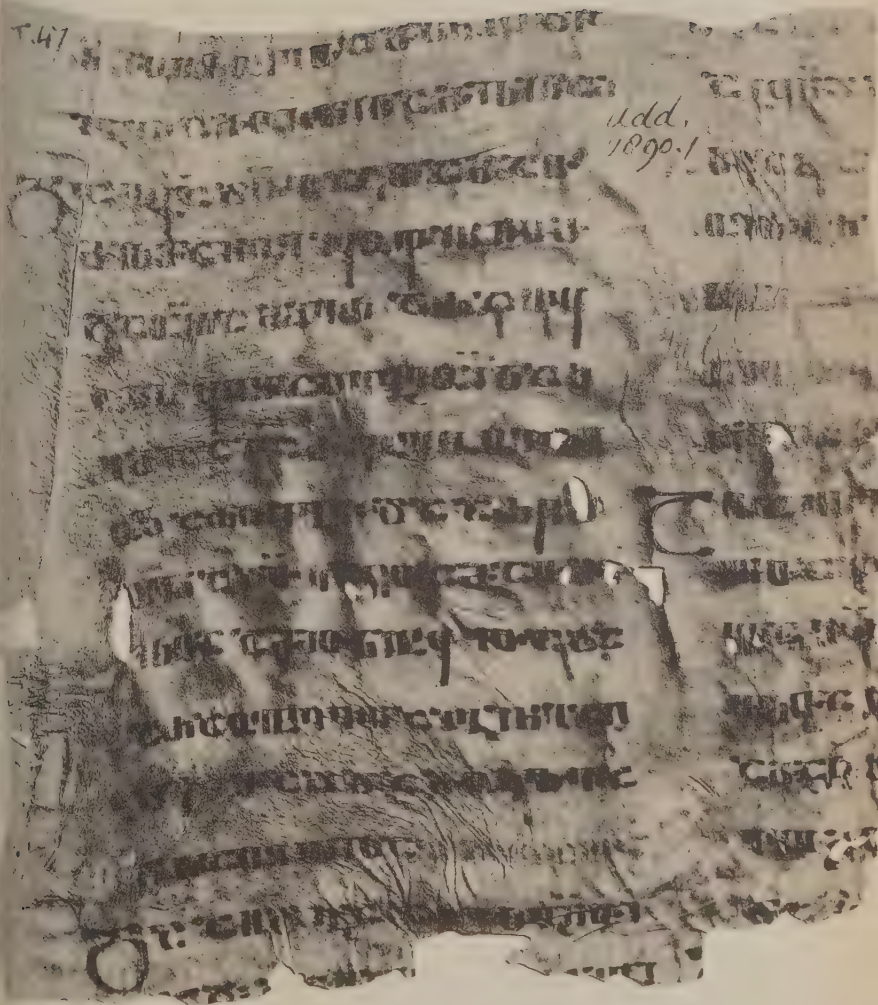


PLATE 5. Cambridge University Library. Ms. add. 1890.1
Ms. Georgian 3 recto

PLATE 6. Cambridge University Library. Ms. add. 1890.3

Handwritten text in Hebrew script, arranged in two columns. The script is dense and appears to be a medieval or early modern manuscript. The text is written in a cursive style, with some characters showing signs of wear or fading. The layout is typical of a page from a book, with the text filling most of the page area.

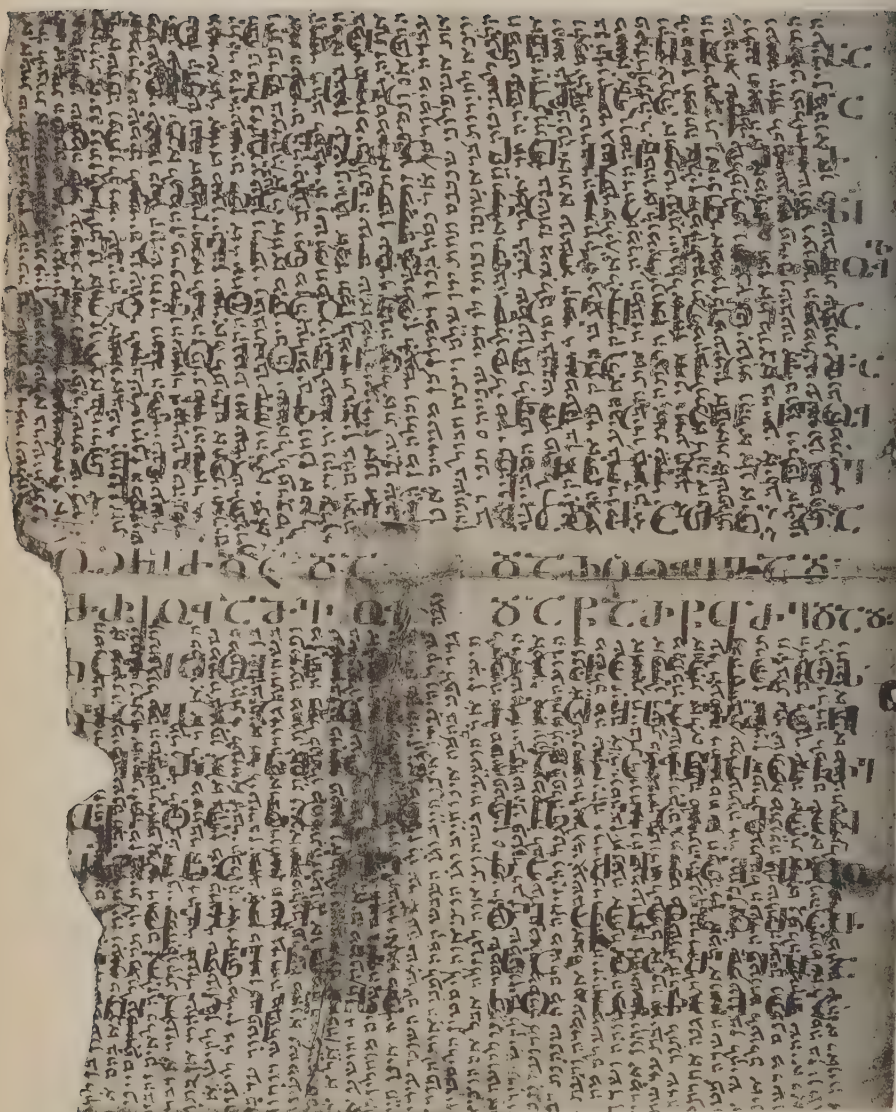


PLATE 8. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Ms. Georgian C 1 =

Ms. Hebrew 2672 verso

]მნათობთა ცისა
]გინა დაბადებულ
]ზღუასა მ^ა გინა
 [მ]დინარეთა : ად ესე
 ხ^ო მნებავს თ^ქნ ვან

καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ φεύγουσιν
 ἄστροις, ἢ κτίσματι ὄντι ἐν θα-
 λάσσει ἢ ἐν ξηρᾷ ἢ ἐν ποταμοῖς·
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μόνον θέλω ὑμᾶς·

verso f.2a

რ^ა უვარ ჰყოთ
 რ^ლსა ჰრქვან ქ^ე
 რ^ი იგი გმობდა და
 ყო თავი თვსი ღ^ოთ
 და ესე ხ^ო თქუთ ვ^ოდ
 კაცი არს ჯ^რნცუძელი
 იგი და არა ღ^ო:
 ხ^ო წ^ოთა მ^ოთ მოწამეთა
 ჰქ^ეს მეფესა . ჩ^ონ
 ყი^ოსა ქ^ენისა ჩ^ონისა
 თვს და ნათესავთ[ა]
 ჩ^ონთა თვს და თა[ვთა]
 ჩ^ონთა თვს უმ^ეხ[ობს]
 მიგოგოთ . და . [
 ოთ და ად[
 კეთილი ად . [
 რ^ლსა მიმ . [
 რწმენა და [
 ვიდეთ . ვ[
 მართ ღ^ოთ[ისა
 და ძისა მი[სისა
 ქ^ეს ო^ოსა[
 ს^ოლისა წ^ოდ[ისა
 ველს მყო[
 ყოლთამსა[
 და არა უფ[
 მოღუაწებ[საწ]
 წმუნობის[
 უფრომს და[ადვია]
 რ^ლთ ი^ოჲ ქ^ე . რ[
]შ^ონ მ^ორ იგმობვი . [
 სამებით იდიდებ[
 სი^ტყ^ოა და მ^ოწ ღ^ომ . რ[^ო]
 გორციელ იქმნა

ἀρνήσασθε τὸν λεγόμενον Ἰησοῦν,
 βλασφημήσαντα τοιαῦτα τοῦ
 ποιῆσαι ἑαυτὸν Θεόν· καὶ ἵνα μό-
 νον εἴπητε ὅτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ
 σταυρωθεὶς καὶ οὐ Θεός.

οἱ δὲ ἄγιοι μάρτυρες τοῦ Θεοῦ
 εἶπον· Ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ παντός
 τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, καὶ πάντων τῶν
 διαφερόντων ἡμῖν, ἀπολογούμεθα
 καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν
 τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν εἰς ἣν ἐπι-
 στεύσαμεν καὶ εἰς ἣν βεβαπτίσμεθα,
 εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον
 Πνεῦμα καὶ οὐκ ἀρνοῦμεθα τὴν
 οἰκονομίαν. ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ὑπὸ
 σοῦ βλασφημηθεὶς, ὁ εἰς τῆς Ἁγίας
 Τριάδος Θεὸς Λόγος ὢν, σαρκω-
 θεὶς

verso f.2b

ჩონ თოს უკუანაბს
 კნელთა ჟამთა . ა[.]
 რეზისა თოს[]
 ხლზისა თოს []
 მარ[]
 ქ[

ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν διὰ τὴν
 ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ Πνεύματος
 Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου.
 . . .

recto f.3

მტარვალთა მათ . რა
 აწუგდენ შერყუ
 ვილსა მას გაიანესა
 რა ერეოდის კართი
 შემართ რიფსიმ[ეს]
 ვოდ ყავ ნებამ მეფ[ი]
 სამ . და ცხონდი შ[ენ]
 ცა და ჩონდა :
 ხოლო მან თავსიღვა სი[ტყუამ]
 იგი ძუძეულის[ა]
 მიმართ თვსისა[
 მიდგა და ერეოდ[ა
 შედმართ : შვილ
 დაგიტევი შონ ქ . [
 შევინებისა მავის . [
 და იყავნ შონდა მ[ლი
 ნუ იყოფინ შონდა[
 ვომბა გამოჭ[დრე
 მის გონ ცხონებისა დ[თი]
 სამსა . და ვორ მცა[შენ და]
 ემკვდრე წარმარ[
 ლსა ამას . [
 ვე არა რამ[
 დდეს არს დ[
 წარცდეს :
 და ვორ გოლის[ზმა ყვ]
 ეს ვოდ უფრ[ლამ და]
 გონაკრძალებ[დ
 ასწავებს : დ[
 ქვამ და სცე[

. . . the executioners, that
 they should burn this deceitful
 Gaiané. That he should speak
 inward from the door to Rhip-
 simé: "Do the will of the king,
 and live both thou and we."
 This one took the word to her
 foster-father and spake in-
 ward: "Son, may there be
 forgiven thee the defilement
 of this [woman], and may
 there be unto thee [power]
 that this not be unto thee, so
 that thou mayest pass from
 this life to the life of God and
 so that thou mayest inherit.
 . . . This . . . naught . . . to-
 day is and [tomorrow] shall
 pass away.

And when they understood
 that . . . were more con-
 firmed . . . teaches . . . stone
 and smoke.

verso f.3

მამაკაცი ჰბრძოდა
და სამ ყამით გონ ვჟე
მეათედ ყამადმდე
იბრძოდეს. და იძლია
მეფეს იგი რთი მოუგო
...]ეზელ იგი ძალითა
...] ვჟე იგი იყო სოფე
ლსა მას იონთასა

]მავლი ძლევაჲ

]. ო მას და დაკვრვე

[ბო]ვლ იყვნეს ყონი მის თხ:

[და]შეიბნა შარავანდე

[დი]. და თვხსა მას მა

[ბო]ვლსა სამკვდრებელ

[ხა] მოიწია: და მრავა

[ლ]ი საქმეს სიმგნისაჲ

ქმნა: რთლ იგი ესრ

[ე]თ გონთქუმულ იყო.

... ქალისა ერთისა

[.] იძლია. ვჟა უხუ

[ხო]ვრი და არა რაჲ.

]პითა მით და ძა

[ლითა]]ქმესითა:.

]ია და დაშურა

]ნდა. გამოვი

[და]].ე.და უბრძა

[ნა მო]ყვანებაჲ ნე

]მის გაიანესი

]ბად საცივი

]მისსა. და ეგ

[რეთ მ]ოიყვანეს იგი.

The man contended, and
from the third hour to the
tenth hour they contended.
And the king was defeated
who . . . with force . . .
while he was in the country of
the Greeks . . . the future
victory . . . and all were as-
tonished at him. And he
bound on the diadem, and
unto his own paternal heritage
he came, and many a deed of
valor did he perform, for he
was thus famous . . . of one
woman . . . he was con-
quered, like a puling child
(νήπιος) and nothing . . . by
the power of Christ. . . and
became weary . . . went forth
. . . and commanded to bring
in . . . of Gaiané . . . a cangue
. . . his and thus . . . they
brought him.

GEORGIAN MS. 6

(MS. Add. 1890.4)

Two conjugate leaves of thin white parchment, somewhat yellowed. The two inner upper corners are gone. Ink blackish brown. Headings in pale red asomt'avruli capitals. One column, with 33 lines to the page. Rounded, sloping, rather small and compressed nuskhuri. 250 by 214 mm.; script 188 by 150 mm. Fragment of menaion for April. Saec. xii-xiii.

inc. (-def.) . . . ელეზიოთა • ყოღ ქეზულნო მწმენო.

f. 1 v. თა აპრილსა იოგ . წთა მცქლთა არისტარხო: პოდო და ტროფიმოდასი. April 15. The holy apostles Aristarchus, Podius, and Trophimus.

f. 2 v. თა აპრილსა იოგ : წთისა მწმისა საბა გოჯთისა. April 16. The holy martyr Saba the Goth. des. (def.-). გვრგვინთა შემკობილი [მ]ეუფისა ძალთადასა წე.

GEORGIAN MS. 7

(MS. Add. 1890.5)

Pair of conjugate leaves, of which the lower inner corners have crumbled away with damp. Parchment thin and grayish yellow. Ruled on skin side lightly with sharp point. Triple guide-lines in outer margin, double ones in inner; 30 lines to page, script in one column. Ink brown; headings in carmine. 234 mm. by 188 mm.; script 180 by 125 mm. Small rounded flowing nuskhuri.

inc. ანგოლი მმოათა გნზრზათა ქდგი გითა ანგელრზო მთვრისათა (*blurred*) გმონი მონთა შნთანნი ისმინენ . . .

f. 1 v. კრკება მეხუთე [სა].

f. 2 r. ღრმაბათსა მეექუსება ხუჭდრნი.

f. 2 v. at foot of page mutilated adscription in old mkhedruli in gray-black ink (3 lines): des. MS. მარხვაჲ მკლვგლი (*word uncertain*) ვნბთაჲ მღ . . . /

Date ca. saec. xiii; part of Triodion for Lent.

GEORGIAN MS. 8

(MS. Add. 1890.7)

Two connected leaves of grayish-white parchment of medium thickness. Script medium sized, sloping, rounded, and ligatured nuskhuri. Ink brown; headings in cinnabar. One column, 32 lines: 220 by 175 mm., script 156 by 124 mm.: double guard-lines on both sides.

inc. წონო და მოგუფენს საგნაურსა . . .

f. 1 v. თა ივლისსა ბ: წმსა ღოთის მშობელისა სამცხლისა დადებამ და თაყუანის გემა ვლქრნას (sic). July 2. Deposition of the Robe of the holy Theotokos and its adoration at Blachernae.

f. 2 r. თა ივლისსა დ: წიშა მამისა ჩნშისა . ანდრეა კრიტელისაჲ. July 4. Our holy father Andreas of Crete. des. სიბრძნითა ზეგარდამოდთა აღივსე წო და პრი ზღოისა Part of menaion for July 2-4: ca. saec. xiii.

GEORGIAN MS. 9

(MS. Add. 1890.6)

One leaf of parchment, thin and somewhat yellowed. Ink black, headings in vermilion. 27 lines to a column. 228 by 165 mm.: script 175 by 125 mm. Niskhuri, upright and pointed, slightly sloping, considerably ligatured, like hand 1 of Codex Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum No. 51. Double guard-lines, faint ruling on skin side. Probably saec. xii-xiii.

Part of menaion (probably of Georgios Athonites) for September: inc. . . ანმანათლებელად ჩონდა მსხდო . . .

fol. 1 r. სეკტენბრსა: გოზ: წიშა კალისტრატესი: და მოყუასთა მისთა. September 27, St. Kallistratos and his companions. des. ზემთა წესსა და საზღვარ. Brief adscription in the outer margin by a later hand on fol. 1 v.

GEORGIAN MS. 10

(MS. Add. 1891.1)

One leaf of pinkish bombycine oriental paper, rather thin and much worn. Ink is brown and faded and has eaten holes through the paper. 37 lines to a page: 2 columns. 375 mm. by 290 mm.; script 305 by 220 mm.; 15 mm. between columns. Saec. xiii-xv. Text of a homily dealing with New Testament subjects (Nicodemus and the crucifixion are mentioned) probably by John Chrysostom. Large rounded nuskhuri, somewhat sloping, of the Gelati type. Very imperfect accents used, but simple punctuation.

inc. სს[ლ]ოდა და უგოდებნი. The end is so damaged that no sense can be made out.

GEORGIAN MS. 11

(MS. Add. 1891.2)

A Georgian letter on rough, ribbed white paper in მკედრული (secular) characters, 200 mm. by 188 mm. No visible watermark in the paper. Ink black. Date ca. 1800. Contents of private character; სტამბოლი Stamboli is mentioned. The edge of the letter is cut away and the signature is lost. Was written დაიწერა ეს წიგნი მარიობის თვის ცამეტსა. "This letter was written the 13th of the month of Marioba"; no year is preserved.

One other manuscript is classified with the Cambridge Georgian fragments. This is MS. Add. 1890.2(10). It is, however, not Georgian at all, but consists of two damaged vellum folia with Armenian texts in small, sloping ardzanagir capitals.

KHANMETI PALIMPSEST FRAGMENTS OF THE OLD GEORGIAN VERSION OF JEREMIAH

ROBERT P. BLAKE

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AMONG the innumerable fragments and scraps of manuscripts which have percolated through to Western Europe from the renowned *Rümpelkammer* at Cairo, there have been found not a few palimpsest leaves bearing the marks of other milieus and having traced upon them characters in tongues other than Hebrew.¹ Chance brought the writer on the trail of one such vagrant parchment during a visit to Oxford in the summer of 1921; an investigation of the hand-list of Georgian mss. at the Bodleian Library showed that this institution possessed a "fragment of Jeremiah in capitals."² As soon as I glanced at it, I realized that a perplexing puzzle had been solved. In 1902 Professor P. K. Kokovtsov of the University of St. Petersburg published a facsimile and collation of the Hebrew text on a Hebrew-Georgian parchment palimpsest leaf,³ a photograph of which had been sent anonymously to Professor N. Ya. Marr. The Hebrew text proved to be a portion of the Jerusalem Talmud;⁴ from the photograph it was difficult to tell which was

¹ A. Neubauer and A. Cowley, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. II, Oxford, 1906, Introduction; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Art. 'Genizah.'

² The leaf is listed as MS. Georg. C 1 = MS. Heb. 2672, and is framed in glass, as are the other fragments at Cambridge and London: see Neubauer and Cowley, p. 47.

³ П. К. Коковцовъ, Еще одинъ рукописный фрагментъ Иерусалимскаго Талмуда. Записки Восточнаго Отдѣленія Имп. Россійскаго Археологическаго Общества, XI (1899), стр. 195-205; *ibid.* Дополнение къ статьѣ «Еще одинъ рукописный фрагментъ Иерусалимскаго Талмуда.» стр. 413: Kokovtsov later identified the fragment from the catalogue. (See article of Hencko cited below, note 41).

⁴ From the Tractate *Bābā Qāmā* c. 6 and 8. The other fragments likewise come from this same tractate. The late Professor G. F. Moore pointed out to me that the Hebrew text of these fragments is published by L. Ginzberg, *Yerushalmi Fragments from the Genizah* (in Hebrew), New York, 1909, pp. 242-244. I would record my deep gratitude to Professor Moore for much help and many fruitful and stimulating suggestions generously and freely bestowed through many years. My warm thanks are also due to Professor William Thomson, who went over the article in its final form.

the original writing. The late Sir A. E. Cowley kindly informed me that the fragment had been acquired in 1894 along with several others from Rabbi S. Wertheimer in Jerusalem, and that its provenance from the Genizah collection was almost certain. Professor F. C. Conybeare had already identified the Georgian text as a fragment of Jeremiah,⁵ and presumably had at the same time sent the photograph to Professor Marr, the covering letter probably having been lost.

I began to decipher the fragment, which proved a thorny task. The ink had faded very badly, the parchment was yellow with age, but the chief difficulty was that no single verbal form came out anywhere nearly right. At length I discovered one that was not concealed by the Hebrew text, and then it became clear what the trouble was: we have before us a dialectal text. To the significance of this for Georgian studies I shall return below. Once the importance of the find had become clear to me, I set about hunting down other possible fragments of the same manuscript. Through a reference in J. O. Wardrop's Catalogue of the Georgian mss. in the British Museum⁶ I discovered that one minute fragment is preserved there,⁷ and that another is in the Cambridge University Library.⁸ Later on, at Cambridge, I was able to identify and copy three further bits of the same manuscript, thanks to the willing help of Professor F. C. Burkitt. These fragments have been described in detail in the Catalogue preceding the present article. The British Museum fragment proved to be so small that it is impossible to place it, though it can be said with certainty that it belongs to the same codex as the fragments in Oxford and Cambridge. Both the Cambridge and British Museum fragments come from the Genizah at Cairo, so that the question is settled as to the provenance of the Oxford fragment.

The present article was begun in 1921, and considerably revised and enlarged in 1924, after the work of Djavakhišvili and of Šanidze became known to me. Subsequently I obtained photographs of the Jerusalem manuscript⁹ and of the Athos

⁵ Neubauer and Cowley, *loc. cit.*

⁶ London, 1913, p. 406.

⁷ Brit. Mus. ms. Or. 6581 = ms. Georg. 3.

⁸ Taylor-Schechter ms. 12.741.

⁹ See Harvard Theological Review, XIX, October, 1926, p. 300.

codex.¹⁰ In 1930, through the kind offices of Mr. A. F. Scholfield, Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, I was appointed Associate in Oriental Literature of that Library. This led me to resume my long dormant investigation and to bring the results to the form which is here presented.

The parchment of the Oxford fragment is stout and yellowed with age; in some places it has been injured by damp. The Hebrew text is written transversely (also in two columns) across the Georgian. The Oxford leaf¹¹ is preserved nearly complete, and shows that we have to do with a ms. of very considerable size: the page measures 320 by 240 mm.; the text 246 by 208 mm.; between the columns was left a space of from 21 to 22 mm. There are 20 lines to the page. I am convinced that this was a codex of the Old Testament, not a lectionary from the prophets, for no signs of lessons or chapters are marked in the margin, although one of the fragments contains the end and the beginning of a chapter¹² (possibly it was written in red). The codex may have contained only Jeremiah and something more — possibly Baruch, Lamentations, and Ezekiel, while the minor prophets and Isaiah probably formed a second volume. A rough stichometrical calculation shows that Jeremiah alone must have filled at least 250 folia, which would give around a thousand folia for the whole series of the prophets. I exclude from this calculation Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah, and the Esdras books. The parchment is lightly ruled with a sharp point on the hair-side. The words are divided, and the scribe evidently took no pains to economize his parchment; the lines contain from 8 to 14 letters only. Paragraphs are marked by indents and by slightly larger plain initial letters set out in the margin. The ink is of a purplish-brown color, resembling that used in many of the oldest Georgian mss. It has faded at many points, and where injured by damp has turned a yellowish brown. The Hebrew text, written by a hand of the Egyptian type according to Dr. Cowley, is in rather pale grayish-black ink.

¹⁰ See *ibid.* XXII, 1929, pp. 33 ff.

¹¹ The leaf is here reproduced from an excellent photograph which I obtained through the kind offices of Mr. F. R. Hall, Comptroller of the Oxford University Press.

¹² The Oxford leaf (c. 18); the initial sentence is written in red both in I and O.

The question as to the original home of the manuscript is purely a matter of conjecture. Whether there were colonies of Georgian monks in Egypt outside of Sinai is doubtful. It seems much more likely that it came from Palestine, where literary work in Georgian monastic circles¹³ began early. Later on, in fact, one of the versions of the Scriptures was called 'Sabbaites' by the Georgians.¹⁴

A careful description of the Cambridge fragments has been given above (Catalogue, pp. 207-224). The British Museum specimen (Or. 6581; Wardrop Catalogue, No. 3, p. 406) is a tiny, irregular bit of parchment, measuring about 38 by 30 mm. It is framed with two other palimpsest fragments containing Palestinian Syriac texts. The age and provenance of these fragments make them of cardinal importance in the history of Georgian palaeography, and justify a discussion in some detail. See Plates 7, 7A, 8, 8A.

In the three fragments all the letters of the Georgian alphabet are represented with but four exceptions, *ჰ* p, *ჯ* j, *ჟ* ž, and *ზ* z; that the last two, which are very infrequent, are absent is only natural, while the absence of p and j is due to chance. I take the opportunity of reproducing also a *ჟ* ž which turned up in a leaf of a khanmeti palimpsest manuscript now in the possession of a dealer in Cairo. While the script of this codex is obviously later, it exhibits the quadrangular form and general ductus which characterize the fragments that we are studying, and shows one very important phenomenon, namely, that the head of the *ჟ* ž was originally closed;¹⁵ to the significance of this I shall return below.¹⁶ Certain general points remain to be discussed before taking up the individual characters.

The fragments were written with a broad flat-cut reed pen, and by a skilful, practised scribe. In some cases the circles are almost geometrically perfect; and the hair-lines are straight and delicate. The vertical strokes are broad, and executed with a single movement of the pen; in the case of those letters

¹³ See კ. კეკელიძე, ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორია I (Tiflis, 1923), pp. 50 f.

¹⁴ See Harvard Theological Review, XXI, 1928, p. 368.

¹⁵ A photograph of this manuscript was sent me by the owner.

¹⁶ This form was pointed out by Šanidze in the article cited below, p. 234, note 32.

which go below the line, like წ, ც, ყ, კ, გ, პ, ჯ, ზ, the tails of the hastae sometimes take the form of an oblique point, with the slant from left to right. This indicates that the pen was probably shaved a bit on the right side. Finial points are for the most part square, or at least rectangular, and are usually placed above or below the hair-lines, which generally do not pierce them. The hair-lines run across the page horizontally (never vertically), and merely connect the heavier strokes. In some instances they are carried out beyond the vertical thick line for an ornament, as in the მ r; this is later stylized and forms an integral part of the letter in some of the later forms of capitals.¹⁷

The punctuation is likewise harmonious in execution and early in form. The sign of contraction is a short, straight line joining the lower corners of two square dots ■■. As word divisions, we find one and two dots (close together), half-way above the line, ∴. In addition we find the superior accent /, which is obviously the Armenian բռ [Բ] but, and is used somewhat like the Greek comma to denote a small break in the thought. This accent is characteristic of the most ancient Old Georgian mss., and is found, for instance, in the Adysh Gospels; but attention has not been directed to it hitherto, so far as I am aware.

Division among the words is usually according to the sense, but sometimes the words are run together. Words under contraction are few and only those ordinarily met with. These are both abbreviations, such as მწ ხ for მამეთ, ხოლო, and suspensions, such as ღო, იმე for უფალო, იერუსალიმი, and the like. Words are carried over at the end of the line at any point where the division happens to fall. There is no attempt to space the words in any pattern, such as we find in the later mss.¹⁸ 'Lizards' are frequent; short lines are not spaced in at the end of a paragraph to make an equal indentation on both margins.¹⁹

¹⁷ See p. 232.

¹⁸ A study of the alphabets from various manuscripts and monuments as given by I. Djavakhišvili in his ქართული პალეოგრაფია (Tiflis, 1927) ad fin. makes this clear.

¹⁹ This is especially characteristic of the psalters; e.g. ms. Tiflis Eccles. Mus. 38 (ca. 904).

Paragraphs are marked by large plain capitals slightly set out in the margin. No trace of chapter numberings, such as we find in the Jerusalem ms. (I) of the prophets, appear to be preserved.²⁰ It would appear that a sentence once written in cinnabar has disappeared in the Oxford leaf; the missing words are written in red in I and O. The ruling of the lines was discussed above (Catalogue, p. 210). The relative narrowness of the two columns is also a sign of antiquity.

We now turn to a discussion of the individual letters.²¹

1. *Vowels*

The top stroke of the ε a is long with two dots at either end; the understroke also ends in a dot. γ e and ο i are sharply distinguished;²² the left vertical bar of the γ e is about half the length of the right bar, while the ο i has on the left a square dot above the hair-line. The α ο is made by two vertical semi-circular convex strokes deeply shaded in the middle, and joined at the top and bottom by a hair-line. The dot to the right is joined to the bottom of the circle by a horizontal hair-line; the dot is square and above the level of the line. The ζ ü/w is the most interesting of the vowels. Two forms appear: (1) that of the isomere of a P.²³ The loop is very small, shaded on the left and joined by hair-lines, and the vertical stroke is the same height as the α ο: (2) the loop has become a hook, also very small, and has slid a third of the way down the hasta; the hook is small and sharply bent in. In this form we usually find a hair-line finial on the left at the top of the hasta. In the α y the two points on the left end in dots, in each case above the hair-line; the curve itself is parabolic rather than circular. No very

²⁰ On this point see H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 2d ed. by R. R. Ottley, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 351 f. The chapter headings are only partially preserved, for instance in Jeremiah, in Codex I.

²¹ For convenience I reproduce the alphabet as far as it is preserved. The drawing was executed by my wife.

²² In a good many manuscripts the only difference between γ e and ο i is in the length of the left bar, and it is very difficult to distinguish between them.

²³ The form of the reversed P is the older, as we can see from the inscriptions; cf. I. Djavakhišvili, *Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis*, II, 1923, pp. 317 ff.

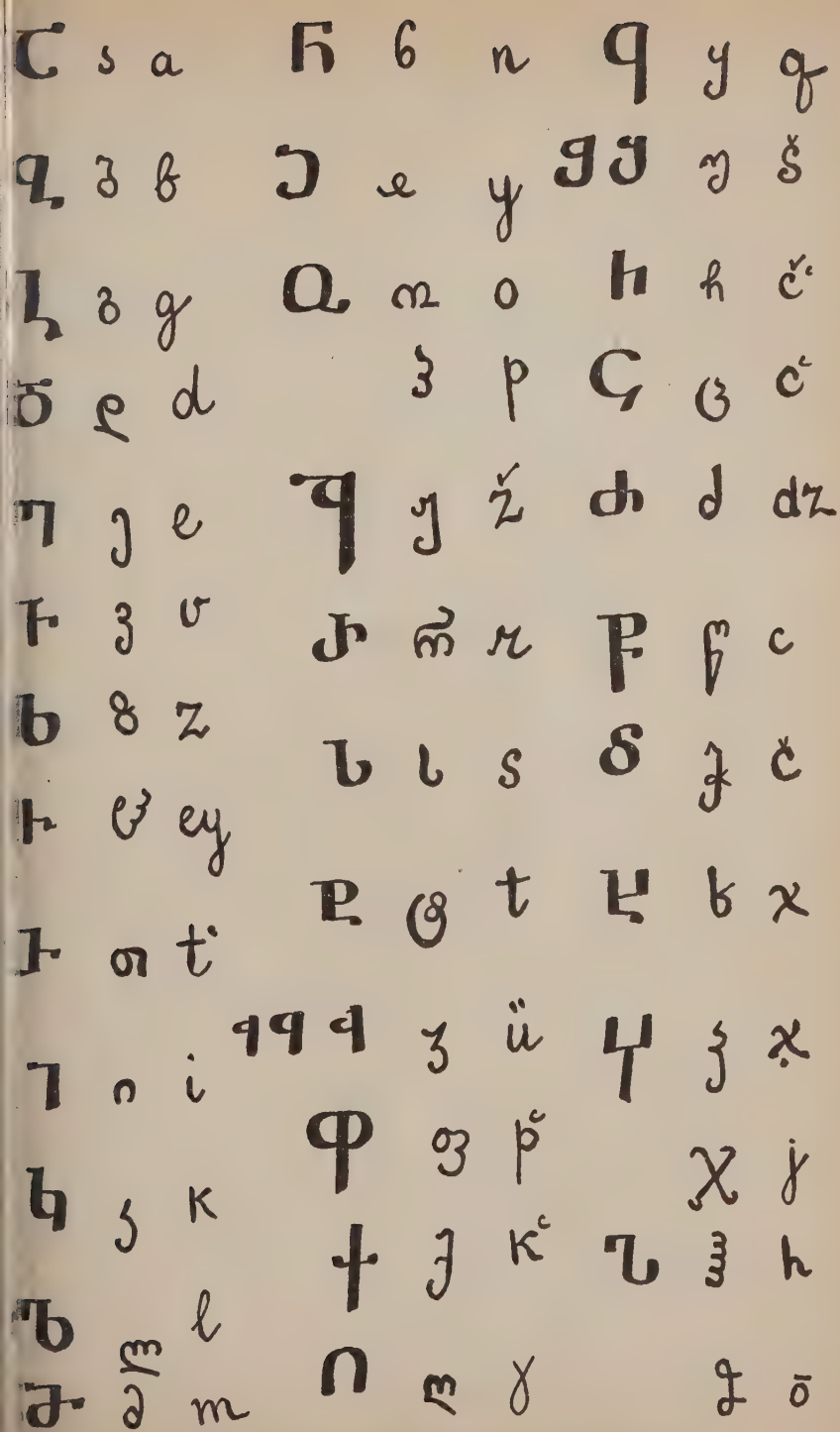


PLATE 9. Alphabet taken from Jeremiah Fragments

good specimen of the օ ē/ey is preserved, but it appears to be the type where the finial hair-line out to the right of the hook is horizontal.²⁴ 8 օ is missing.

2. Consonants

(a) Labials. փ p is absent; փ p' has a distinctly flattened head, each loop of which is about two-thirds the size of the normal ց q loop.²⁵ The loops are heavily shaded at top and sides, and join the hasta by a hair-line at the bottom. The փ b has in all cases a closed head, which is relatively large — half the height of the hasta: the latter is rather short, as in the փ χ.²⁶ The horizontal line to the right terminates in a square dot below the line.

(b) Dentals. փ t has a rather small loop, heavily shaded, and no hair-line finial to the left at the top of the hasta. The hair-line at the foot terminates in a square dot below the line. The փ d has a circular body, rather small. The hair-line at the top is of about the same width as the radius of the body, and terminates in two square dots above the line. The connecting link between the hair-line and the body is rather broad. The փ t' has an almost hemispherical body, and the tail on the right is short and terminates in a square dot below the line.

(c) Gutturals. փ k has the normal shape, the lower bar being carried somewhat farther down than in the Armenian form of the letter. փ g has a fairly short vertical bar to the left, about as in the ց e, and ends the hair-line in the bottom to the left with a square dot below the line; this dot in some cases appears to be rectangular, and approaches the curved form of the later letter. The փ χ appears in two forms: the upper horizontal hair-line sometimes slopes down to the left, while the right vertical hasta is shorter;²⁷ in the other type the bar is longer so that the hair-line is horizontal. The փ γ is normal

²⁴ In some cases this finial slopes upward and outward at an angle of 45 degrees.

²⁵ On this point see below, p. 236.

²⁶ The closed head is the older form, but was more persistent in the manuscripts. See A. Č'ikobawa in Č'veni Mec'niereba III, No. 34, 1924, and Harvard Theological Review, XXI, 1928, p. 371, note 63.

²⁷ I have not observed this form elsewhere.

in shape: the $\delta \chi$ is quite narrow, with a long vertical bar. The $\jmath k'$ has usually a hair-finial at the top on the left — the cross-bar is a hair-line with two dots *over* the line at the ends. The hair-line is on the ruled line. The $\mathfrak{y} q$ has a semicircular closed loop, which is an early form. It is about half as large again as the left-hand loop of the $\mathfrak{g} p'$.

(d) Sibilants and Tzischlaute. The $\mathfrak{b} s$ has a slightly wedge-shaped tail, which is sometimes slightly curved in at the top toward the left hasta. At the bottom the two are joined by a hair-line. The $\mathfrak{c} c'$ has a strong, oblique, bluntly pointed bar at the foot, but no finial or flourish at the top corner on the right. The $\mathfrak{f} c$ and $\mathfrak{d} dz$ are normal; the missing $\mathfrak{g} \check{z}$ was mentioned above.²⁸ The $\mathfrak{h} \check{c}'$ is also normal, except that the right hasta is one-half the height of the left one. The $\mathfrak{z} \check{c}$ and $\mathfrak{v} \check{s}$ are interesting: the $\mathfrak{z} \check{c}$ has a nearly circular body, but the hook at the top is bent out rather farther to the right than is ordinarily found, so that the vertical axis of the letter is deflected from the perpendicular; the letter looks much less like a figure 5 than does the ordinary manuscript type. This casts an interesting light on its origin, which we cannot discuss here. The $\mathfrak{v} \check{s}$ appears in two forms, one with an open flattened hook curved back at the top, and the other with the hook closed into a flattened head. This second form has not been noticed previously, to my knowledge. We can assume, apparently, that the two forms of the \check{s} are parallel to the two forms of the \ddot{u} . $\mathfrak{x} j$ is unfortunately absent from our fragments: $\mathfrak{z} z$ is of the normal type.

(e) Liquids. $\mathfrak{l} l$: the body is just half the height of the hasta, and the left hand vertical bar descends to the point where the body starts. $\mathfrak{m} m$: the cross hair-line ends to the right of the hasta in a square dot below the level, while the finial to the left of the hasta ends in a square dot placed above it. Thus we see the beginning of the later flourishes which mark this letter. $\mathfrak{n} n$: at the top is a hair line running horizontally or even slanting upwards and outwards; it ends in a square dot below the line. The stroke below is somewhat curved in towards the

²⁸ Šanidze has noted the occurrence of the $\mathfrak{g} \check{z}$ with the closed head in his texts (Khanmeti mravalt'avi, p. 109); see below, p. 234.

hasta. It is of the same shape as that of the \eth r: this letter has a fine pointed hair-line finial on the left at the top of the hasta.

(f) Others. There remain but two letters to consider: the bilabial \mathfrak{z} v and the spirant \mathfrak{h} h. The \mathfrak{z} v has a hair-line to the right, terminating in a dot below it; the left bar of the \mathfrak{h} h is carried up higher than is generally found in Georgian capitals.²⁹

The general conclusions from this analysis are as follows:

(1) The general ductus and form of the letters agree very well with the characters found on the oldest inscriptions.

(2) At the time when the ms. was written, certain letters were undergoing a change, notably \mathfrak{z} ü/w and \eth š; the others in general manifest ancient traits, which in some cases enable us to trace the development of peculiar forms in the later MSS.

(3) The form of the letters supports the date of about 700 A.D. which I have assigned to these fragments.

The language of these texts is Old Georgian, but it evinces certain peculiarities which we have come to term *khanmeti* $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{h}$. The history of this discovery has already been discussed in detail in the pages of this REVIEW,³⁰ and the peculiarities of the dialect have there been illustrated. It suffices here to recall that the most noteworthy peculiarity of these texts is the use of the letter \mathfrak{b} $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{s}$ χ an in verbal forms as a pronominal prefix in cases where in the ordinary MSS. we find \mathfrak{h} h or one of its phonetic equivalents \mathfrak{s} s: \eth š or 0 before vowels. The prefixes concerned are:

\mathfrak{z} = (1) $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{z}$ χ u/ χ ü first person, singular and plural subjective.

\mathfrak{h} = (2) \mathfrak{b} χ second person, singular and plural subjective.

\mathfrak{s} = (3) \mathfrak{b} χ third person, singular and plural objective.

In addition the prefix \mathfrak{z} - u- in the comparative degree of adjectives is written $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{z}$ - χ u-. It is now, I think, generally conceded that this phenomenon is due to a shift in the literary centres away from Eastern Georgia, but that forms of this sort

²⁹ This is the type which underlies the ordinary *nuskhi* (ecclesiastical minuscule) form.

³⁰ 'The Caesarean Text of Mark,' *Harvard Theological Review*, XXI, 1928, pp. 365 f.

attest the antiquity of the documents which have been preserved in this dialect. An intermediate stage appears to have been marked by the use of ჰ *haē* h in place of ხ *χ*.

The forms which appear with ხ *χ* in our texts are fourteen in number:

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (1) შენიმღვსრო | (6) აღნიღოთ | (11) ხიგობ |
| (2) ხოვინდა | (7) ხიხმინოთ | (12) შეხუძლოთ |
| (3) ხვტყოდი | (8) შეხვდოდით | (13) ხიყავნ |
| (4) ხვტყოდე | (9) აღხუგუნე | (14) (ნუ) ხიგოფინ |
| (5) მონაქონდებ | (10) [ჰიდვა] | (15) მონაქციობ |

Among these we find one written with ჰ before a vowel ჰიდვა, and two, both passives (in reality middle in mode) without ხ- *χ*-, იხწონ and შეგინანო. It so happens that all the forms in our fragments employ the ხ *χ* before a vowel, and ხ *χ* does not appear before consonants. That it was used before consonants is proved by the specimens which Šanidze has published.³¹

This instability is taken by Hencko³² and Šanidze³³ to mean that when these texts were written the ხ *χ* was a literary convention, which was sometimes neglected and likewise sometimes inserted where it ought not to have been employed, by scribes who no longer had a sense for the grammatical significance of the forms they wrote. This, I think, is undoubtedly true. We have to do with a phenomenon which is dying out. As far as I can see, the fragments published by Džavakhišvili and by the writer maintain a more correct tradition than those which Šanidze has published, though their usage is by no means flawless.

Šanidze's discussion³⁴ of the forms in his last article seems to me admirable except in one regard: the form ხუ *xu* cannot be analyzed as a metathesis of *ვხ *vχ*, which would be difficult to parallel in Georgian in Anlaut. A further objection to his

³¹ See the following note.

³² ა . შანიძე, ხანმეტო მრავალთავი, Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis, VII, 1926, pp. 98-152.

³³ Hencko, in the article cited below (note 41), p. 237.

³⁴ Šanidze, Khanmeti mravalt'avi, p. 116.

³⁵ Šanidze, pp. 112-114.

explanation is the fact that in Old Georgian we have a double category of objective prefixes for the person plural მ- m- and გუ-/გვ- gu-/gü- or gw-. In modern Georgian the form is written გვ- gv-, but the v is pronounced as a bilabial w. It is obvious that this gu-/gw is phonetically and morphologically the equivalent of the ჯუ-/ჯვ- such as we have here in these texts. Furthermore the უ u in forms like შეუძღოთ *šeudzlot*, which may mean either *poterimus* or *poteritis*, must have arisen through the dropping off of a spirant that preceded, and not one that followed, the vocalic element.³⁶ Our fragments make it perfectly clear that the original form of the prefix of the first person was ხჷ xü, of which we have the following examples: მოხვდოდეთ *ibamus*, ხვტყოდო *dicebam*, ხვტყოდო *dixerim* (subjunctive or optative). Before vowels the ü is hardened into u as in ახუაგზნე აჯუაგzne. Sporadically this form persisted in Old Georgian texts; we find alternating with the ordinary imperative of the root სვავ *svay*, 'to go', which is მოვიდეთ *movidet*, the form მოხვდეთ *moxüdet*, which is nothing more than a survival of the *khanmeti* prefix. The form of prefix employed in the objective sense (gu-) appears in a subjunctive usage in the words მოგუაღე *moguale*, წარგუაღე *carguale*, გუაღე *guale*, which are nothing more than petrified imperatives, and are used to translate the Greek ἄπαγε, ὑπάγε, ἴαμεν, very much as in the Russian пойдёмте. Etymologically the v in the root √val/vl is stable, but in actuality its forms suffered attrition in popular speech, as the modern forms მოდი *modi*, წადი *cadi* show. What the precise dialectal history behind forms like გუაღე *guale* is, I do not undertake to assert at the moment. The forms of the imperfect in -დი -di and -დე -de do not show any trace of the later differentiation into the optative, nor does the use of the perfect subjunctive in final clauses depart in any wise from our previous notions of Georgian grammar.

A few other points are deserving of comment. We find the form ხახიდ *saxid* used as a dative.³⁷ This form, which is

³⁶ We must assume the following development შეხუძღოთ > შეჴუძღოთ > შეუძღოთ.

³⁷ The dative in Georgian ends in -სა -sa or -ს -s.

found not infrequently in Old Georgian mss., is often written ხახედ *saxed* in the ms. It is parallel to the forms ადგიდ, ხიკუდოდ, ყიკოდ, and is probably formed by analogy with them. The origin of the form is not quite clear; it could be explained either as a mutation of ლ > დ, *l* > *d*, which is found in Swanetian, or else by the disappearance of ლ before დ, which is paralleled in Mingrelian. The -დ is the sign of the directive case, which denotes motion or transformation into, and approximates the adlative and the transmutative in Finnish; in nouns this ordinarily has the form -ად, but in town-names only -დ appears, for example, კაფარნაოზდ 'into Capernaum.' It is difficult to say if the form ძუაალთა *dzuaalt'a* 'in (my) bones' is merely a scribal error or not. If it is intentional, it is an attempt to express the quantity of the vowel. We find long vowels in Swanetian and in some of the Georgian dialects, notably that of the Rača valley, but the fact that there are no other cases in the text makes me dubious as to the accuracy of the form here. In the form მძოჯ, *genuit me*, we find ძო *u* in place of the normal ვ *v*- მძვა.

I had originally read ნუ ხოცოყ in the Cambridge fragment, which, although explainable on dialectal grounds, would have been a much more radical departure from Old Georgian norms than any other which we meet in the text. It was impossible to read anything else on the original, or on the first rather imperfect photograph of it which I received; the second photograph, however, showed clearly that the right-hand loop of the last letter had been erased, and it was clearly a ვ, not a ყ; faint traces of the -ოფ were also discernable, so that the regular form ნუ ხოცოვონ *ne sit* is to be read.³⁸ From the point of view of orthography the letter ე *ey* is used when it is etymologically necessary — in the nominative singular of -ე -e stems and as the representative of the Greek η and the Armenian է *ey*, for example, დღე, იწელობა. Abbreviations are few, and normal in form; the anomalous იწმეო³⁹ appears even at this early date.

³⁸ See Djavakhišvili (above, note 23), p. 361, note and Hencko (below, note 41), p. 346.

³⁹ N. Marr, *Antiokh Stratig, Plenieie Ierusalima persami v 614 godu*, St. Petersburg and Tiflis, 1909, pp. 73 f. of Introduction.

The upshot of the above discussion is that apart from the khanmeti forms of the verb, no divergence from the established norms of Old Georgian seems observable. The instability of the khanmeti prefixes indicates that the time when these forms were dominant lay in a period already measurably distant in the past, and accordingly furnishes another valuable criterion for the antiquity of forms of this type.

We now pass to the text itself. The text of the Oxford leaf is first printed column by column as was done in the Catalogue of the Cambridge fragments: the various fragments are then quoted in their proper order, but printed solid in revised form. The letters enclosed within square brackets are my own restorations: one dot beneath the letter means that it is preserved in part and can be restored with reasonable certainty; two dots, that only a slight trace is recognizable. I also adduce in parallel columns the text of the Jerusalem ms. (I),⁴⁰ with the variants from the Athos Codex (O).⁴¹ The text of I in this section is on the whole better than that of O, just as it is in Fourth Ezra.⁴² In addition I quote the text of Jeremiah from the Moscow edition (M), which, as I have shown elsewhere,⁴³ is of the same recension as the Tiflis ms. U (Tiflis University Library, Cod. 1). The text of U, where preserved, is given in full,⁴⁴ and the variants of M in the apparatus.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ On this codex see my articles in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXIII, 1924, pp. 26 f., 30-32, of the reprint, and in *Harvard Theological Review*, XIX, 1926, pp. 300-301.

⁴¹ Н. Генко, Оксфордский фрагмент древне-грузинской версии Иеремии. *Записки Коллегии Востоковедов*, I (1925), стр. 345-352.

⁴² *Harvard Theological Review*, XXII, 1929, pp. 33 ff.

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 65.

⁴⁴ *Harvard Theological Review*, XIX, 1926, pp. 271 f.

⁴⁵ The text of U is not preserved for chapter xii, but is extant for the other sections; *Harvard Theological Review*, XIX, 1926, p. 276.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Georg. C 1; ms. Heb. 2672

recto

ლები და საკოვ
მეველი და შესა
წირავი და გოვ
ნდროვკი და მო
ხაქოვნდეს ქე
ბად სახელსა
ოჲლისასა :

და ოვკოვეთოვ
არა ხისმინოთ
ჩემი წმიდა ყო
ფად დღეს იგი შა
ბათთაჲ . და რა
არა აღზიდოთ
ტვრთი და შესვ
დოდით ბჭეთა
იჲმისათა დღე
სა შაბათთა —
სა აღზოვაგზ —
ნე ცეცხლი ბჭე
თა იჲმისათა/

და შეჰამნეს
ზღოვრბლნი იჲმნი
ხანი და არა
დამრტეს :

აღდეგ და შთა
ვედ შენ სახიდ
მეკეცისა . და
მოვნ გესმენ
სიტყოვანი ჩემნი :
და შთავედ სა
ხიდ მეკეცისა
მის და აჰა და
ხიქმოდა საქმ
ესა თვსსა . ლოდ
[სა] ზრა და გან
ხერა ჭოვრჭე[რი]
იგი რაჲსა ხიქ[მოდა]

verso

გელითა თვსითა
ლოდსა მას ზედა
და შენიმოვხრო
და კოვლიდ შექ
მნა იგი ჭურჭ
რად სხოვად ვა
სათნო ხოვჩნდა
წინაშა მისსა
საქმედ :
და ხიყო სიტყოვაჲ
ოჲ ჩემდა . და
მრქოვა მე : ოვ
კოვეთოვ ვა მე
კეცესა ამას
მან ოვკეთოვრე

შინა მეკეცისასა
ეგრეცა თქონ სა
რთ გელსა ჩემ
სა სახლო იჲმლი
საჲ . აღსახროვლ
სა ხვტყოდო ნა
თესავთა მიმა
რთ ანოვ მეოვ
ფემათა აღდე
ბად მათა და
დარდოვევად
და წარწყმედად
და მოხაქციოვ
ნათესავმან
ვერ ძალ მიც და

თქოვენდა სახლო
 ი^წლისაო ხიტყვს ო^წი
 აჰა ესერა ვ^ა
 [თ]იკაჲ გელსა

ბისა გან რ^წლსა ხტყო
 დე ყოფად მათ
 სა . და შევინა
 ნო ბოროტთა/

A. Cambridge University Lib., Taylor Schechter ms. 12,183

რად და ოვვალად ¹¹და ჰიდვა
 ოვჩინოდ წარსაწყმ[ედ]ელად
 ჩემ თვს განგირყოვნა განწყო-
 ვნით ყოველი ქუ[ე]ყანაჲ : :
 რ^წ არა ვინ არს კაცი რ^წნმცა
 დაიდვა გოვლსა თვსა ¹²ყ
 აღსავალი . . ოვდაბნო . . სა
 დე სადრო

ოტნი სამკვდრებელსა თვსსა
 და კაცად კაცად [ქ]ოვყანასა
 თვსსა . ¹⁶და ხიყოს ოვკოვკეთოვ
 სწავლით ისწაონ ვ^აჲა ერისა
 ჩემისაჲ : და ფოვცვიდენ სა-
 ხელსა [ჩ]ემსა ცხოვე[ლ] არს
 ო^წი ვ^აჲ [.]. ასწავეს ა

B. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hib. C 1; ms. Heb. 2672

ლემბი და საკოვმეველი და შე-
 საწირავი და გოვწდროვკი და
 მოხაქოვწდეს ქებად სახელსა
 ო^წლისასა : ²⁷და ოვკოვკეთოვ
 არა ხისმინოთ ჩემი წმიდა
 ყოფად დღ^წ იგი შაბათთაჲ . და
 რ^წა არა აღხიდოთ ტჯრთი და
 შეხვდოდით ბჰეთა ი^წმისა-
 თა დღესა შაბათთასა აღხოვ-
 გხნე ცეცხლი ბჰეთა ი^წმისათა
 და შეჰამნეს ზღოვწბღნი ი^წმ-
 მისანი და არა დაშრტეს :

. . . εις ἔρημον ἄβατον, ¹¹ἐτέθη εις
 ἀφανισμόν ἀπωλείας / δι' ἐμέ ἀφανι-
 σμῷ ἡφανίσθη πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ὅτι οὐκ
 ἔστιν ἀνὴρ τιθέμενος ἐν καρδίᾳ. ¹²ἐπὶ
 πᾶσαν διεκβόλην ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἦλθον
 ταλαιποροῦντες . . .

. . . ¹³σπεύρατε πυροὺς καὶ ἄκανθαν
 θερίζετε . . .

. . . κατοικίῳ αὐτοῦς ἕκαστον εἰς τὴν
 κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστον εἰς τὴν
 γῆν αὐτοῦ. ¹⁶καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν μαθόντες
 μάθωσιν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ὀμνῶν
 τῷ ὀνόματί μου Ζῆ Κύριος, καθὼς
 ἐδίδαξαν τὸν λαόν μου. . . .

. . . φέροντες ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυ-
 σίαν καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ μάννα καὶ
 λίβανον, φέροντες αἵρεσιν εἰς οἶκον
 Κυρίου. ²⁷καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν μὴ εἰσακού-
 σῃτέ μου τοῦ ἀγιάζειν τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν
 σαββάτων, τοῦ μὴ αἵρειν βαστάγματα
 καὶ μὴ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ταῖς πύλαις
 Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαβ-
 βάτων, καὶ ἀνᾶψα πῦρ ἐν ταῖς πύλαις
 αὐτῆς καὶ καταφάγεται ἄμφοδα Ἱε-
 ρουσαλὴμ, καὶ οὐ σβεσθήσεται.

¹⁸⁻¹⁹Ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος παρὰ Κυρίου
 πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν λέγων·

აღდგე და შთავედ შენ სახიდ
მეკეცისა . და მოჲნ გესმენ სი-
ტყუჯანი ჩემნი : ³და შთავედ
სახიდ მეკეცისა მის და აჰა და
სიქმოდა საქმესა თჳსსა . ლო-
დ[სა] ზ^ა 'და განხერა ჭოვრჭე-
[რი] იგი რ^ალსა სიქ[მოდა]
გელითა თჳსითა ლოდსა მას
ზედა და შეხიმოვსრო და გო-
ჯლად შექმნა იგი ჭურჭრად
სხვად ვ^ა სათნო სოჲჩნდა
წინაშე მისსა საქმედ : ⁵და სიყო
სიტყუჯა ო^ა ჩემდა . და
მრქოჲა მე : ⁶ოჲკოვეთოჲ ვ^ა
მეკეცესა ამას ვერ ძალ მიც და
თქოვენდა სახლო ო^ასლისაო
სიტყჳს ო^აი აჰა ესერა ვ^ა
[თ]იგა გელსა შინა მეკეცისასა
ვგრეცა თქ^{ონ} ხართ გელსა
ჩემსა სახლო ო^ასლისაო .
⁷აღსასროვლსა ხეტყოდო ნათე-
სავთა მიმართ ანოჲ მეოჲ-
ფებთა აღდგებად მათა და
დარღოვევად და წარწყმედად
⁸და მოხაქციოლს ნათესავმან მან
ოჲკეთოვრებისა გან რ^ალსა ხე-
ტყოდე ყოფად მათსა . და
შეგინანო ბოროტთა/

²Ἀνάστηθι καὶ κατὰβηθι εἰς οἶκον
τοῦ κεραμέως, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀκούσει τοὺς
λόγους μου. ³καὶ κατέβην εἰς οἶκον
τοῦ κεραμέως, καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς ἐποίει
ἔργον ἐπὶ τῶν λίθων, ⁴καὶ ἔπεισεν τὸ
ἄγγιον ὃ αὐτὸς ἐποίει ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν
αὐτοῦ· καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν
αὐτὸ ἄγγιον ἕτερον καθὼς ἤρεσεν
ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι. ⁵καὶ ἐγένετο
λόγος Κυρίου πρὸς μὲ λέγων· ⁶Εἰ
καθὼς ὁ κεραμεὺς οὗτος οὐ δυνήσομαι
τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ;
ἰδοὺ ὡς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως ὑμεῖς
ἐστε ἐν χερσὶν μου. ⁷Πέρας λαλήσω
ἐπὶ ἔθνος ἢ ἐπὶ βασιλείαν τοῦ ἐξῆραι
αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ ἀπολλύειν, ⁸καὶ ἐπι-
στραφῇ τὸ ἔθνος ἐκείνο ἀπὸ πάντων
τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ μετανοήσω περὶ
τῶν κακῶν. . . .

C. Cambridge University Lib., Taylor-Schechter ms. 12,741

ვითარცა ცეცხლი აღვხებოვლი
შემწყული მოჯაალთა ჩემთა
და [დახ]ჯგნდი .[

] :ლი რ დ[: : : : ვახა . . . : ს სა
ცოეს ხ^ა თოჲ და შეხოვძლოთ
მას და მოვი . [მოვრის გეძ[ა]მ
ჩ^ანი . მის გ . [და ო^აი] ჩემ .
ვა მ . . მო : ო მ შედ მისა
] ვდეს

. . . ἐγένετο ὡς πῦρ καιόμενον φλέγον
ἐν τοῖς ὅστοις μου καὶ παρῆμαι πάντο-
θεν . . .

. . . ἄνδρες φίλοι αὐτοῦ τηρήσατε
τὴν ἐπίνοιαν αὐτοῦ εἰ ἀπατηθήσεται,
καὶ δυνήσομεθα. . . .

ოჲ ძა . თა[ა] გამომ[.]დგ :
[] სიმაღლი : გოჯლის
ზმის მყოფელ გოჯლისა [და
თი]რგოჯმელ[თა] მიხილა
[ვს] შოჯრის გეზა . ა . შენ
გან მ . ვ მი . .

[ბო]რტ[] [] . თ :
ბოჯლ სიყავნ : ¹⁴ო . . რ^ლსა
დღესა მას რ^ლსა მშოჯა მე
დედამან ჩემმან ნოჯ სიყოფინ
[საღოცველ ¹⁵წყეულ სიყავნ[.
. . . .

[] : ინან[] [] ს
მისდა[] ბაჲ განთიად და
ვალაღებდა[

. . . Κύριε δοκιμάζων δίκαια καὶ συν-
ιών νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας, ἵδοιμι τὴν
παρὰ σοὶ ἐκδίκησιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι
πρὸς σέ ἀπεκάλυφα

. . . πονηρευομένων. ¹⁴ἐπικατάρματος
ἢ ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ ἐτέχθη/ἐν αὐτῇ, ἢ ἡμέρα
ἐν ᾗ ἔτεκέν με ἢ μήτηρ μου μὴ ἔστω
ἐπευκτή. ¹⁵ἐπικατάρματος ὁ ἄνθρω-
πος. . . .

. . . καὶ οὐ μετεμελήθη, ἀκουσάτω
κραυγῆς τὸ πρῶν καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ
μесеμβρίας. . . .

I = Jerusalem, Patr. Bibl.

Hib 7, f. 112r₂-v₂.

Jer. xii. 10-16

U = Tiflis, Georgian Univer-

sity MS. 1: M = Moscow

edition, 1743

¹⁰მწყემთა მრავალთა განრყუ-
ნეს საყურძენი ჩემი . მისცეს
ნაწილი იგი ჩემი გულის სა-
თქუმელი უდაბნოდ უგზოდ .
¹¹იქმნა იგი განსარყუნელად წა-
რსაწყმედელისად ჩემ თვს : გა-
ნრყუნით განირყუნ + ყოველი
ქუეყანაჲ . რამეთუ / არა არს
კაცი რომელმანგა დაიდვა ესე
გულსა თვსსა ¹²ყოველთა ზედა
ალაგთა უდაბნოდსათა . მოვი-
დენ დაგლასაკებულნი უდაბ-
ნოსა ზედა . რამეთუ მახვლმან

მისცეს ნაწილი გილის სათქუ-
მელი ჩემი უდაბნოდ მიუვა-
ლად ¹¹და იდვა უჩინო საქმნე-
ლად წარწყმედისად ჩემ მიერ 5
უჩინო ყოფითა უჩინო იქმნა
ყოველი ქუეყანაჲ რამეთუ არა
არს მამაკაცი დამდგელი გუ-
ლსა შინა ¹²ყოველთა შინა ალა-
გთა უდაბნოსა შორის საარე- 10
ბელნი

MS. O.

²მისცეს] შეაგინეს. —

³om. იგი ჩემი. —

⁷განირყუნა. —

²ესე] იგი. —

¹¹⁻¹²მოვიდეს. —

²⁻³სათქმელი M.

³⁻⁴მიუვალად M.

⁴⁻⁵საქმელად M.

- უფლისა მან შეჭამოს კიდიტგან
 ქუეყანისადთ მიკიდედმდე ქუ-
 ეყანისა : არა არს მშჯდობაჲ
 ყოველსა გორციელსა ¹³ითესით
- 5 იფქლი და ეკალსა მოიმკით .
 ნაწილი თქუენი არა სარგებელ
 გეყვნენ თქუენ : გრცხუნო-
 დენ სიქადულისა გან თქუე-
 ნისა ყუდრებობისა გან წინაშე
- 10 ღმრთისა . ¹⁴რამეთუ ესრეთ
 იტყვს უფალი ყოველთა თჳს
 მოძმეთა თქუენტა უკეთურთა
 მწყემსთა . რომელნი ავნებენ
 სამკვდრებელსა ჩემსა . რომელ
- 15 განუყავ ერსა ჩემსა ისრაჲლსა :
 აჰა ესერა მე აღვიხუნე იგინი
 ქუეყანიით მათით . და სახლი
 იუდაჲსი გამოვიყვანო შორის
 მათსა . ¹⁵და იყოს რამჟამს გა-
- 20 მოვიყვანე იგინი . მოვაქციო
 და შევიწყალე იგინი . და და-
 ვაშენე იგინი თითოეულად სა-
 მკვდრებელსა მათსა და კადად
 კადადი ქუეყანასა თჳსსა : ¹⁶და
- 25 იყოს და ასწაონ თუ სწავლით
 ერსა ჩემსა გზაჲ ჩემი ფიცად

. . . და დავამკვდრე იგინი კა-
 დადი სამკვდრებელსა ზედა
 თჳსსა . და კადადი ქუეყანასა
 ზედა თჳსსა . და იყოს უკუეთუ
 მსწავლელო ¹⁶ისწავოს გზაჲ
 ერისა ჩემისაჲ ფიცად სახლი-

MS. O.

³მშჯდობა. —⁵მოიმკიდით. —⁹ყუედრებობისა. —¹⁰ესრეთ. —¹²მოძულეთა. —¹⁵გან . . ავ. —¹⁷om. მათით. —¹⁸გამოვიყვანე sic, post quod add.
 მე. —¹⁹⁻²⁰მოვაქცინე. —²⁰⁻²¹დავაშენე. —²⁵ასწავს თუ. —²⁶გზაჲ ჩემი ერსა ამას ჩემსა. —²⁶ჩემისა M.

სახელითა ჩემითა ვითარმედ /
ცხოველ არს უფალი ვითარცა
იგი ასწავებს ერსა ჩემსა ფიცად
ბაალისა . . .

სა მიმართ ჩემისა ცხოველ არს
უფალი ვითარცა ასწავებს ერსა
ჩემსა ფიცვად ბაალისა მი-
მართ . . .

ff. 117v₂-118r₁; Jer. xvii.

26-xviii. 8

. . . მოაქუნდეს შესაწირავი
და საკუმეველი მანანაჲ და
გუნდრუკი . მოიღონ შესაწი-
რავად სახლისა უფლისასა ²⁷და
თუ არა ისმინოთ ჩემი წმიდა
ყოვად დღეთა შაბათთა . აღკი-
დებად ტვრთისა და შესლვად
ბჭეთა იმრუსალემისთა : და
აღვაგზნე ცეცხლი ბჭეთა მი-
სთა . და შეჭამნეს ზღუდენი
იმრუსალემისანი . და არა და-
შრტეს : —

ისატყუაჲ რომელი იყო იერე-
მიამსა მიმართ უფლისა მიერ
და ჰრქუა : ²აღდეგ და შთა-
ვედ სახიდ მეკეცისა . და მუნ
გესმნენ სიტყუანი ჩემნი . და
შთავედ სახედ მეკეცისა . და
აჰა ესერა იქმოდა იგი საქმეთა

. . . მომღებელნი დასაწუვე- 5
ლთა და მსხუტრჳლთა და სა-
კუმეველთა და მანანასა და
გუნდრუკსა ; და მომღებელნი
საქებელად სახლისა მიმართ
უფლისა ²⁷და იყოს არა თუ 10
ისმინოთ ჩემი წმიდა ყოვა-
დღე შაბათთაჲ არა აღდბად
ტვრთნი და შესლვად ბჭეთა
იმრუსალიმისათა დღესა შინა
შაბათთასა : და აღვაგზნა ცე- 15
ცხლი ბჭეთა მისთა შორის .
და შეჭამნეს მრჩობლგსებანი
იმრუსალეებისანი და არა და-
შრტეს :

თ ა ვ ი ი ო ზ .

ისიტყუაჲ კმნილი უფლისა 21
მიერ იერემიამს მიმართ მე-
ტყუტლი : ²აღდეგ და შთავედ
სახიდ მეკეცისა და მუნ გესმ-
ნენ სიტყუანი ჩემნი ³და შთა-
ვედ სახიდ მეკეცისა და აჰა იგი 26
იქმოდა საქმესა ქვათა ზედა :

MS. O.

³ასწავენ. —

¹⁰⁻¹¹om. აღკიდებად . . . და. —

¹⁴ზღუდენი] ზურგნი. —

²³ჰრქუა] თ^რქა ო^რნ. —

²⁶სახიდ

²⁷om. ესერა. —

²⁷იგი იქმოდა. —

⁵⁻⁶და სწუტლთა M. .

⁶⁻⁷საკუმეველთა M.

¹⁰ღ^მ M.

¹¹წ^მ M.

²⁰U add, in margine manu posteriori:

თავი ი^ოზ.

²¹სიტყვა M.

²¹ღ^მ M.

²⁷ქვათა; corr. manu scribae e -სა U.

- ქვათაზედა. ⁴და განერა ჭურჭელი იგი გელთა შინა მისთა რომელსა იქმოდა თიგისა გან . და კუალად შექმნა იგი ჭურჭრად სხუად ვითარცა /სთნდა წინაშე მისსა საქმედ იგინი . ⁵და იყო სიტყუამ უფლისამ ჩემდამო და მრქუა . ⁶არქუ მათ ვითარცა მეკეცემან ამან ვერ უძღლმცა შესაქმედ თქუა უფალმან : აჰა ესერა ვითარცა თიგამ გელსა შინა მეკეცისასა ეგრეთ თქუენ ხართ გელთა შინა ჩემთა სახლო ისრაელი-
¹⁵საო : ზღსასრული ვთქუა ნათესავთა ზადა და მეუფებთა მოსპოლვად მათა და დარღუევად მათა და წარწყმედად მათა . ⁸და მოიქცეს ნათესავი
²⁰იგი უკეთურებათა გან მათთა . და მე შევინანო ბორბტებათა მათთა თვს

⁴დავარდა ჭურჭელი რომელსა იგი იქმოდა თიგისა გან გელთა შინა მისთა და კუალად შექმნა იგი ჭურჭლად სხუად ვითარცა სთნდა წინაშე მისსა ქმნად ⁵და იქმნა სიტყუამ უფლისამ ჩემდამო მეტყუელი ⁶არქუ მათ უკუეთუ ვითარცა მეკეცესა ამას ვერ ძალმიც ქმნად თქუენდა სახლო ისრაელისაო[იტყვს უფალი] : აჰა ვითარცა თიგამ გელსა შინა მეკეცისასა ეგრეთ თქუენ ხართ გელთა შინა ჩემთა სახლო ისრაელი-საო ზღსასრული ვთქუა ნათესავსა ზედა ანუ მეფობასა მოსპოლვად მათდა ⁸და წარწყმედად ⁹და მოაქციოს ნათესავმან უკეთურებათა გან მათთა და შევინანო ბორბტებათა თვს

MS. O.

¹საქმეთა ქვათა ქვათა მათთა. —

²om. და. —

²⁻³ჭურჭერი. —

³გელთა შინა მისთა post გან. —

⁶იგი. —

⁸post მრქუა add. მე. —

⁸ამათ. —

⁹გა]უკეთუ. —

¹⁰უძღოლ საქმედ, post quod add. სახლო იწმლისაო. —

¹²გელთა . . . მეკეცისათა. —

¹⁶და] გინა თუ. —

¹⁶მეფესა ზ^ა. —

¹⁸დარღუევად წარწყმედად. —

¹⁹მათა] მათდა. —

¹დავარდა U sic correxit scriba recentior super rasuram aliae lectionis, hodie non legendae.

⁴add და ante სხუად M.

⁶სიტყვა M.

¹⁰⁻¹¹post იწმლისაო in MS. იტყვს ო^აი, postea expunctum manu scribae U.

¹⁷მოსპოლვად : -დ paene evanidum U.

f. 120r, -v¹ Jer. xx. 9-16

და იქმნა გულსა შინა ჩემსა
ვითარცა ცეცხლი აღგზებულ
შემწუველი და შემყენებელი
ძუალთა შინა ჩემთა • შეუცავ
გარემო და ვერ შეუძლებ თავს
დებად .¹⁰რამეთუ მესმა გმობა
მრავალთა • რომელნი მუ-
კრებოდდეს გარემო ჩემსა :
აღდევიტ და აღვდგეთ მის
ზედა ყოველნი მიყუარნი მი-
სნი . და უმზირდო ურახვასა
მისსა • ცოტნ ზოლო თუ დავს-
ძლოთ მას . და მივიგოთ შური
ჩემი მის გან : ¹¹და უფალი ჩემ
თანა ვითარცა მბრძოლი ძლიე-
რი . ამის თვს მდევნეს და
ცნობად ვერ შეუძლეს . და
ჰრცხუნა ფრიად • რამეთუ
არა გულის გმა ყვნეს შეურ-
ცხებანი მათნი . რომელნი მი-
მდემი ვერ დაივიწყნეს : ¹²უფა-
ლო ძალთაო გამომცდელი
სიმატლისაო და მცნობელი
გულთა და თირკუმელთაო მი-
ხილავსმცა შენ მიერი შურის
გებაჲ მათ შორის . რამეთუ

. . . ვითარცა ცეცხლი მგზება-
რე და მოტყინარე შემყენებე-
ლი შორის ძუალთა ჩემთა და
შეუცავ ყოველგანით . . .

5

. . . განიხილეთ წუთით მოგო- 10
ნებაჲ მისი ანუ შეაცთუნეთ და
ვსძლოთ მას და მოვიდოთ შუ-
რის ძიებაჲ ჩუენი მის გან .
¹²და უფალი ჩემ თანა ვითარცა
მბრძოლი ძლიერი ამის თვს 15
მდევნეს . . .

20

. . . დავიწყებულ იქმნენ
¹უფალოძალთაო გამომცდელი
სამართალთაო გულის ხმის
მყოფელი თირკუმელთა და
გულთაო მიხილავსმცა შენ 25 *
მიერის ძიებაჲ მათ გან . . .

MS. O.

³შეყენებული. —

⁴შევი . . . —

⁵⁻⁶თავს დებად] შთავ. დებად. —

¹⁰post ყოველნი add. კაცნი. —

¹¹უმზირდეთ. —

¹³om. და მოვიგოთ. —

¹⁵post თანა add. და. —

¹⁸⁻¹⁹რამეთუ არა] რომელსა. —

¹⁹⁻²⁰ყვეს შეურცხებაჲ მათი. —

²⁰⁻²¹მიმდე. —

²¹დაივიწყნენ. —

²³om. და. —

²⁴⁻²⁵მიხილავსმცა. —

⁴შუცავ M.

⁴ყოველგანით M.

¹⁰განიხილეთ insertum a scriba super
დაუმზირდეთ.

¹¹შაცთუნეთ M.

¹²მ¹² sic M.

²³ხუმა sic U.

²⁵გულთაო correctum a scriba e
გულისაო U.

შენდაში განვაცხადენ ვედრე-
ბანი ჩემნი : ¹³უგალობდით უფა-
ლსა/ აქებდით მას . რამეთუ
განარინა სული გლახაკისაჲ გე-
5 ლთა გან უკეთურთაჲსა : ¹⁴წყე-
ულ იყავნ დღს იგი რომელსა
ვიშვე მას შინა : დღს იგი . რე-
მელსა შინა მშვა მე დედამან
ჩემმან ნუ იყოფინ საღოცველ :
10 ¹⁵წყეულ იყავნ კაცი იგი რომე-
ლმან ახარა მამასა ჩემსა . და
ჭრქუა გესუა შენ წულ : ¹⁶მხია-
რულმცა არს კაცი იგი ვითა-
რცა ქალაქნი . რომელ დააქცი-
15 ნა უფალმან გულის წყრომით .
და არა შეინანა . ესმოდენ
ვალაღებაჲ დილითი და ღაღა-
დებაჲ სამხრის . . .

. . . მბორტებელთასა ¹⁴და წყე-
ულ [იყავნ] დღე რომელსა
ვიშვე მას შინა დღე რომელსა
მშვა მე დედამან ჩემმან ნუ
იყოფინ ზედლოცველ ¹⁵და წყე-
ულ კაცი . . .

არა შეინანა . ესმედ ღაღადქ-
ბისაჲ განთიად და ვალაღებაჲ
ჟამსა შუადღისასა . . .

MS. O.

¹განვ . ცადენ. —

³ante აქებდით add. და. —

¹²თ^ჟქ . —

¹²წული. —

⁶იყავნ post წყეულ fuit, nunc expunc-
tum U.

¹⁶არ sic U.

We now pass to the discussion, with translation, of the individual fragments.

FRAGMENT 1

Jeremiah xii. 10-11 . . . and untrodden and let it be placed
in an utter wasting for me. The whole land of thine is de-
stroyed, for there is no man who layeth it in his heart.
Every entrance of the desert. . .

The second line is very fragmentary; ლ l is fairly clear, but
the following letters are uncertain, with the exception of the
next to the last in line 2, which is evidently თ t'. In lines 3-4
we must clearly read ოჴვალად uvalad. This word means
literally 'ungoable' or 'hard to pass through' rather than 'un-
trodden.' I and O have უგზოდ ugzod 'roadless' from გზად

gzay 'road,' rather the Greek ἄσδον. M has the later form მიუვლი: მი- mi-, is the German *hin*. The preceding *da* is almost certainly the conjunction 'and' rather than the preposition. The form დახლვაჲ (modern Georgian დახვლა) means to 'go down' (used of the sun) and is used especially in modern Georgian in the sense of the Greek φοιτάω. This being the case, a second adjective of a similar signification, as well as a substantive, must have preceded, since the ending is almost certainly adjectival—possibly [ოვვე]თ[ოვ]ნად 'evil,' 'bad.' This does not, however, agree with any of the allied versions. The Hebrew has two words which have approximately the same meaning מִדְּבָר וְעֵשֶׂת of 'desert,' 'waste'; O' has εἰς ἔρημον ἄβατον, while A_v and S_p have ქანაყათ ანბილ and ყ^რ ჯ^რ ჯ^რ with the Greek respectively. The directive case in -ად -ad leads us to infer that some verb signifying to 'do' or to 'make' (probably ქმნენ) preceded, such as we have in the Armenian *արարին* and the Syriac ܐܒܕܐ. The reading in M მიხცნეს is modelled on the Greek ἔδωκαν and is rather forced. It arose from a literal translation of the Hebrew idiom, as תִּתֵּן has the signification of 'make' as well as 'give.' The და da 'and' at the commencement of the next verse is a Georgian idiom; we also find it in M, but not in I and O; a similar initial 1 is also found quite frequently in Semitic. ჰიდვა hidva, which is relatively clear on the better photograph, has the pronominal prefix 3 h in place of 6 x. This is doubly interesting, as showing that the text itself was obviously written in a period when the khanmeti forms were going out of use and when 3 h was the predominant and characteristic pronominal formative.⁴⁶ The other versions have verbs corresponding in meaning to that in L (H מִשָּׁח; A_v *hysal*; O' ἐτέθη; with the exception of the Syriac, which has ܐܒܕܐ ܐܒܕܐ and is a free translation of the whole phrase.

The following word in L is not preserved complete in the manuscript, and offers some difficulty in restoration. ოვხოფოვ goes back one way or another to a Greek ἀφανής/-ισμός and the following word presumably means 'destroy.' The form, which

⁴⁶ See A. Šanidze, Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis, II, 1923, pp. 417 ff.

for want of a better term we may call the supine, apparently reads წარსაწყմ[. .]լաճ.

The natural thing to expect is some form of the root წաճ-წყմեճաճ, found below in 18, 7, such as წარսաწყմեճեճաճ, or of the cognate root წყշեճաճ; and the faint traces of the defective letter remaining seem to point to the former supposition; the letter is not ճ d. M has a late scholastic type of construction, օճճա լինիճ խաճմեճաճ ճարճեճմեճիճ: I and O read ճանճարճեճնեճաճ ճարճաճწყմեճեճլիճ using the supine from the root ճանճեճնաճ, which is a synonym of წարճաճწყմեճաճ. A_v's reading յաճաճկանիճ[Թիճն կորստեճն] follows the Greek. Իճմ օճճ literally 'for, because of, me,' is probably a translation of the Armenian վասն իմ, which represents the Greek δι' ἐμέ; neither the Hebrew 'ל or the Syriac ܕܝܝܐ correspond. The Greek does not translate the Իճմ of H and the Իճմ of S. A_v follows O' աճաճկանեճցաճ աճաճկանիճ[Թիճմ] *vastatus est vastatione*. M has a scholastically accurate rendering of the reading of O: Իճմ օճճ լինիճ ցոճոճա լինիճ օճմնա ցոճ Եճմնա; the օճմն is an effort to translate literally the Greek δία; the fondness for the phrase լինիճ օճմնա is characteristic of Ep'rem Mc'ire's work and that of the later scholastics. The -ճ -g- in ճանճարճեճնաճ is apparently an ethical dative (*tibi*); I and O read ճանճարճեճնիճ ճանճարճեճնաճ (the -ա in O is erased): the pronoun has no parallel in the other versions, but I suspect that the original Armenian text may have read Եճրկիճրկ, the demonstrative -դ -d referring to the persons addressed. The fact that two different words are used in L to translate the word 'destroyed' (as in S) leads me to conjecture that the old Armenian text may likewise have had two different words; compare ճուճաճաճցեճաճ in the following verse for 'destroyers.' The use of the masdar (*nomen verbale*), in the instrumental case along with the verb is a common Caucasian construction, akin in its significance to the cognate accusative in Latin. Immediately following this phrase there comes in A_v an insertion, ճինճ ճինճ հոճաճ աճարճի հաճաճաճնեճնաճ 'so that not near has become its restitution.' This is not found in any of the other versions, and looks like a

gloss which has crept into the text. After დაიდვა I add გბე *hoc*; O იგი *illud*. We should expect rather თვსსა *suo* (dative); თვსა being the form used for the directive case in this word (without -დ -d). Ancient Georgian texts often show considerable variation between თვბი *suis* and მიბი *eius*. თვბი is properly the reflexive form, and is considered to be a vulgarism, but Old Georgian usage is unstable in this regard.⁴⁷ The following words can be supplied with reasonable certainty: ყ[აველ]ი[აღ]სავალი ოვადო[ა]სა[ა] 'every entrance into the desert.' The only other compound which will fit in the space is [მო]სავალი, but the sense of this word (*Einkommen*, 'harvest,' 'yield') is against it. Apparently the second letter is an ე e. M has a word აღავნი, which has the same significance as the A_v reading ლლ 'paths'; the Hebrew מִנְּפִי seems to have given the Septuagint translators trouble.⁴⁸ The series of readings in A' L M evidently goes back to the S_p reading ~~ⴌⴓⴑⴓ~~ 'paths'; the singular in L is noteworthy; perhaps this arose through the influence of ყაველი 'every,' or was the original Armenian reading ճանապարհ *via*, or a similar word?

The damaged text in column r₂ gives us only one definite foothold: [ხ]თებთ is clearly σπείρατε in vs. 13: M reads თებნით იტქლნი და ეკალნი მიტქნით with both the words 'wheat' and 'thorns' in the plural. The absence of the plural objective infix -ბ- -n- permits us to reconstruct the line thus: [ხ]თებთ [იტქლი და მიტმ]კით [ეკალი], which (except for the khanmeti prefixes) is the reading of O and I. This again goes back to the Armenian, for we have in A_v *յորհան սիրմանեք, ք և փուշ հնձևիք* while H, O', and S have the plural. In column v₂ no single word can be made out with certainty.

Jeremiah xii. 15-16 . . . and I shall settle them the fugitives (?) in their heritage and each in his own land, and may it be if by learning they shall learn the path of my

⁴⁷ Etymologically თვბი is connected with თავი 'head,' which is used as the reflexive in Georgian. In the older manuscripts the reflexive sense was not yet fully attached to the adjectival form.

⁴⁸ Streane, *The Double Text of Jeremiah*, 1896, p. 136, on Jer. iii. 2.

people, and should swear in my name that (?) the Lord liveth, as (they) have taught. . . .

The second and third line of col. v should probably be restored thus: [და დავამკ]ჯდ[რნე იგი მე]ოტნი: the *ოდ* is probably a part of the verbal form and should be read ჯდ; *o i* and *z ü* in capitals (*asomt'avruli*) are easily confused. The word whose ending is apparently preserved is not clear. The only apparent supplement is [მე]ოხნი *meoxni*, 'suppliants,' which is not supported by any of the other versions, and moreover does not fit in well with the sense of the passage. My suggestion is that [მე]ოტი *meotni*, 'fugitives,' should be read. This is easily possible palaeographically (ზ χ and ტ t being very easily confused, both in *asomt'avruli* and *khuc'uri*: on the photograph it is wholly uncertain which is to be read: the letter looks more like ტ t), and fits the meaning better, but is still open to the first objection raised above: I and O give the distributive თითოეულად 'each.' The other versions give no help; Professor G. F. Moore suggested that perhaps *ⲙⲉⲧⲏⲥⲏ* may have got corrupted into 'ⲙⲉⲥ', but this seems rather unlikely. It is a perfectly natural bit of padding for the place. In any case we have a noun in the nominative plural which must be either the object or in apposition to the object of the verb 'settle.' სამკვდრებელსა is for the most part not legible, but enough remains to make the restoration certain. On თვბსა see above, p. 249: on ხოცობ, see pp. 233-234. სწავლით იხწაონ; on the construction, see above, p. 248; on the form, p. 234. Note the absence of the intervocalic ვ v (the root is სწავ- *scav-*), which appears, however, in ცხოველ *cxovel* below. I and O omit სწავლით; I reads იხწაონ თუ, while O has სწაობ თუ. The word after ხახელსა is undoubtedly ჩემსა, though the space seems large for it. I and O have გზად ერისა ჩემისაჲ 'the road of my people.' After ვა = ვითარცა 'as' there should be a pronoun, probably იგი 'he' or 'they': I and O have ვითარმედ, *ⲙⲉⲧⲏ*. ფოცცვიდენ may possibly have the optative significance; note the characteristic Georgian parataxis with და 'and': *ⲁⲙⲡⲓⲥⲏⲥ* and *ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲏⲥ* in O' and A, *ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲏⲥ* in S.

None of the other versions evince any special peculiarities.

FRAGMENT 2

Jeremiah xvii. 26-xviii. 8 . . . sacrific]es (?) and smoke-offerings and sacrifices and frankincense and they brought them for praise in the house of the Lord. ²⁷And if ye shall not hear me to make holy the day of the sabbaths, and that ye should not take up your burden and enter the gates of Jerusalem on the days of the sabbaths, I shall kindle a fire in the gates of Jerusalem, and it shall devour your thresholds and not go out.

(gap of three lines in the MS.)

²Arise and go thou down into the house of the potter and do (thou) hear there my words; ³and I went down into the house of the potter and behold he was doing his work on the stone, ⁴and he let fall the vessel which he was making with his hand on the stone and it was marred, and again he made another vessel as it seemed pleasing before him to make. ⁵And there was the word of the Lord to me, and (he) said unto me: ⁶If as to this potter, can I not to you, O house of Israel, saith the Lord? Behold the clay in the hands of the potter; so too are ye in my hand, O house of Israel. ⁷At the end was I saying to the nations either to take up their kingdom and to destroy and to annihilate it, ⁸and the people shall turn from their evil-doing, which I said I would do to them, and I repented the evils. . . .

The fragment starts with the enumeration of offerings in verse 26. The first word is not preserved complete, and it is by no means clear just what it is: so far as I can make out, the manuscript reads ლები -lebi, a so-called vulgar plural of a noun ending in -ლი -li. Such a form calls for caution on our part. The use of this form, which is found sporadically in the oldest texts and has become almost universal in modern Georgian, is a point which has not yet been satisfactorily cleared up. The older forms (in -ბი -ni for the nominative with the oblique cases in თა t'a) demand a plural form of the

verb. The forms in -ები -ebi (with the case endings of the singular*) are almost never used in the old language to denote living beings (especially rational ones), for abstract nouns, or for those denoting a product or a material; in the older language the verb always stands in the singular with them; in the modern tongue the verb is in the plural if the subject is animate, otherwise in the singular. My own investigations and those of my friend, A. G. Shanidze, have led us to the conclusion that this form is used almost exclusively in Old Georgian in certain word such as თესლი t'esli, 'seed'; კოჯერთხი kuert'xi, 'stick,' and usually in the case of words which denote concrete objects, especially household and farming implements (objects which form *per se* units of sensible size), when an indefinite quantity is conceived of and not a specific number. The whole phenomenon much reminds one of the Arabic *pluralia fracta*. Presumably we should read მსხვერპლები msxuerp]lebi, 'sacrifices,' since this word often takes the vulgar form of the plural in Old Georgian texts.

Four kinds of sacrifices appear in the Hebrew: (1) הָעֹלֶת burnt offerings; (2) זָבַח sacrifices; (3) מִנְחָה meal offerings; and (4) קָטֹרֶת frankincense. These are represented in the Greek by ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίαν καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ μάννα καὶ λίβανον. Streane⁴⁹ explains the reading of O' as a conflate rendering of זָבַח, while μάννα is meant as a transliteration of the Hebrew word. St. Jerome⁵⁰ *ad loc.* corrects the spelling to μαναά. The Syriac has ܐܒܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ 'sacrificial offerings and sacrifices and incense,' which apparently goes back direct to the Hebrew. A has ܐܒܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ 'thank offerings and perfumes and manna and incense,' which betrays the influence of the Greek. M reads ܐܒܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ 'burnt-offerings and sacrifices and smoke offerings and manna and incense,' following the Greek almost exactly. L has 'sacrifices (?) and smoke-offering and sacrifice and incense,' a reading which is apparently independent of the Greek; there may, of course, originally have been another word preceding 'sacri-

⁴⁹ Streane, p. 242.

⁵⁰ Jerome, Comm. in Ierem. ad xvii. 26 (Migne, P. L. XXIV, col. 824 B).

fices.' I and O read 'sacrifice and smoke-offering, manna and incense.' The presence of the Armenian word *გოვანდოვკი* is noteworthy; in itself this is no proof of the Armenian origin of L, for Armenian words were evidently current in the local dialect, but the two facts taken together are significant. The other versions in their present form show a decided dependence on the Septuagint.

We have already discussed the question of the pronominal prefix *ხ-* *x-* in the verbal form *მცხეკვანდებ*. The use of the imperfect here may seem curious, but is to be explained from the haziness of the temporal connotation of the tenses in Old Georgian; just as in the Semitic, the present (*resp.* imperfect) is the tense of unfinished, the perfect that of completed, action. The Greek and the Armenian have a participial construction here, which has a very restricted employment in Georgian. The Syriac also uses a participle, while U M have a late scholastic construction *მომღებელნი საქებელად accipientes ad laudandum* (sic). ქებად directive case of the masdar goes back in the end to the Greek *αἰνεσιν*; the other versions have similar words, S_p *Հանիծ*; A_v *օրհնութիւն*; M has a supine form *საქებელად*. I and O have *accipient ad offerendum*, using the same root as 'sacrifice' above. Note the dative case in *სახელსა* after a verb of motion. There is undoubtedly an error in L here; *სახლსა* *saxlsa*, 'house' must be read with O and I (*სახლობა* genitive) in place of *სახელსა* *saxelsa*, 'name'; all other versions have 'house.' The error is easy and frequently found in Georgian, but is not difficult in Armenian either, 'ԻՏՈՒՆ: ՅՆՆՈՒՆ.

The *ἔσται* of O', which we find in M *ოვბ*, does not appear in I and O, and is omitted in S_p A_v L. *հցմի* = *μου*; the use of the genitive case in this early text is particularly interesting. The use of the directive case of the masdar after a verb of hearing is not a usual Old Georgian construction; more frequently we find *რათა* *rayt'a*, *ut*, with the subjunctive, as we have in the next line. It is clearly a literal translation of an infinitive construction such as stands in the Greek (*ἀγιάζειν*) or the Armenian (*սրբել*). *შაბათთა*; plural with A_v and O' against S H: I and O read *დღთა* *შაბათთა*. The form *ადხო-*

დოთ we have discussed above, as also შეხედოდით; I reads in place of აღნიდოთ ტვრთი, აღვიდებად ტვრთისა: აღვიდებამ means 'to lift,' 'to shoulder,' and lacks the double meaning inherent in აღვებამ *al'peu*; O omits the whole phrase and the following და *et*; this is possibly merely a slip. აღბვავზნე, a subjunctive form with future signification; on the form see below, p. 257.

The following word is hard to decipher in the manuscript. The remains of the letters, however, can only fit the reading we have in M შეჭამნეს. These forms with the following დამრთეს and ცოეს can only be satisfactorily explained as subjunctives, here with a future significance. They are all third person singular; these subjunctive forms are found frequently in Old Georgian texts, though the scope of their usage and exact significance are as yet undefined. The next word is clear in the manuscript with the exception of the first letter, ზღრღუ-ბლნი, *zyrublni*, and according to the lexicons means 'thresholds.' The other Georgian manuscripts have renderings which have a suspicious external resemblance to each other and to *zyrublni*. I reads ზღუდენი 'walls,' while O has ზუზგნი 'backs.' Both these renderings stand quite alone and I am inclined to think that the scribes have chosen the *scriptio proclivis*. This word presents the most difficult problem that we have in our text. In the first place the Hebrew has a word which occurs not infrequently in the Bible, but of which the etymology and meaning are wholly obscure. This is תִּמְנָן (sing. תִּמְנָן). The modern translators render it by 'palace' (or by 'castle'), but their ancient predecessors were decidedly at variance as to the meaning. Heawood⁵¹ in a note on this word has collected the Greek and Latin variants, and has discussed its etymology and semasiology. He points out that the Septuagint translators often render it by θεμέλια 'foundations,' and sets forth the grounds for believing that there was probably some reason for this. After an examination of all the passages he comes to the conclusion that the probable meaning is not 'palaces,' but rather 'outline' or 'ground-plan' (of the

⁵¹ Percy J. Heawood, תִּמְנָן and תִּמְנָן, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XIII, 1911-12, pp. 66-73.

Agave, etc.

Stellaria media

Agave

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	Septuagint	Syriac	Armenian	Vulgate
1 Kgds. 16, 18	ἄντρον	ܕܠܗܐ ܠܥܐܠ ܠܬܠܬ	սէնեակ (տանն արքայի)	palatium
2 Kgds. 15, 25	ἐναντίον (? for ἐν ἄντρον)	ܕܠܗܐ ܠܕܝܡܥܐ ܠܬܠܬ	տանն արքայի	turri (domus)
2 Chron. 36, 19	βάρεις	ܐܕܝܡܥܐ ܐܕܝܡܥܥܐ	դադարանն	turres
Ps. 48, 4	βάρεσιν	do.	տաճարի	domibus
Ps. 48, 14	βάρεις	do.	դաշտարակս	turribus
Ps. 122, 7	πυργοβάρεις			turribus
Prov. 18, 19	πόλις	ܠܕܠܗܐ	դքաղաք ամուր	urbium
Is. 23, 13	τοιχος (v. l. βάρεις)	ܐܕܝܡܥܥܐ	զհիմն	domos
Is. 25, 2	θεμέλια	ܠܥܠܐ	հիմանց	domus
Is. 32, 14	οἶκοι	do.	ապարանք	domus
Is. 34, 13	πόλεις	ܐܕܝܡܥܥܐ	քաղաքս	domibus
Jer. 6, 5	θεμέλια	do.	զհիմունս	domos
Jer. 9, 21 (20)	πλατείων	ܐܕܝܡܥܥܥܐ	յերկիր	domos
Jer. 17, 27	ἄμφοδα	do.	շուրջ	domos
Jer. 30, 18	ἄμφοδα	ܠܥܠܐ	տաճարն	templum
Jer. 49, 27		ܐܕܝܡܥܥܥܐ	հրապարակս	moenia
Lam. 2, 5	βάρεις	do.	ամուրս	moenia
Lam. 2, 7	βάρεων	do.	զարիսպս աշտարակեսցս	muros tuos
Hos. 8, 14	θεμέλια	do.	զհիմունս	aedes
Amos 1, 4	θεμέλια	do.	do.	domos
Amos 1, 7	θεμέλια	do.	do.	aedes
Amos 1, 10	θεμέλια τειχέων	do.	զհիմունս պարիսպաց	do.
Amos 1, 12	θεμέλια	do.	զհիմունս	do.
Amos 1, 14	θεμέλια	do.	do.	do.
Amos 2, 2	θεμέλια	do.	do.	do.
Amos 2, 5	θεμέλια	do.	do.	do.
Amos 3, 9 bis	χώραις bis	do. bis	գաւառս bis	do. bis
Amos 3, 10	χώραις	ܕܝܡܥܥܐ	գաւառս	do.
Amos 3, 11	χώρας	do.	գաւառք	do.
Amos 6, 8	χώραις	do.	դքաղաքս	domos
Micah 5, 5 (4)	χώραις	do.	յաշխարհ	domibus

	I	O	C	Tifl. Mus, 38.	Geo. Ath. Psalt.
ა-	—	?	?	—	—
	—	?	?	—	—
	—	—	ტაძრები	—	—
	—	—	ტაძართა	ტაძარსა	ტაძარსა
	—	—	ტაძრები	გოდლეები	ტაძრები
	—	—	გოდოლ- ტაძრებსა	გოდოლთა	გოდოლ- ტაძრებსა
ინი ნი	—	?	?	—	—
	ზღუდე	—	—	—	—
ინი	საფუძველით	—	—	—	—
	?	—	—	—	—
	ძნელოვანნი	—	—	—	—
ინი	საფუძველნი	საფუძველნი	—	—	—
	ჭუნებთაგან	უბნებთაგან	—	—	—
	ზღუდენი	ზურგნი	—	—	—
	ტაძარი	ტაძარი	—	—	—
	ურაკპარაკნი	ურაკპარაკნი	—	—	—
	ტაძრები	ტაძრები	—	—	—
	ზღუდე ტაძართად	ზღუდე ტაძრისად	—	—	—
ინი	საფუძველნი	—	—	—	—
	do.	საფუძველნი	—	—	—
	do.	do.	—	—	—
	do.	do.	—	—	—
	საფუძველნი ზღუდეთა მისთანი	საფუძველნი ზღუდეთანი	—	—	—
	საფუძველნი	საფუძველნი	—	—	—
	do.	do.	—	—	—
	do.	do.	—	—	—
	სოფლებსა bis	სოფლებსა bis	—	—	—
	სოფელსა	სოფლებსა	—	—	—
	სოფლები	სოფლები	—	—	—
	სოფელი	ქალაქი	—	—	—
	სოფელსა	სოფელსა	—	—	—

city as a whole). So far one can agree with his arguments, but the etymological discussion which follows arouses serious doubts in my mind.

In the following I wish to point out the variants for this word in those versions which Heawood did not investigate, and also to trace out the history of the passages in the Old Testament where the word 'lintel' is used.

The word **תִּנְזָרִית** occurs 32 times in the Old Testament. It does not appear in the Octateuch, but is found for the most part in the prophets, especially Amos (12 times), Jeremiah (5), and Isaiah (4).

The Septuagint shows a great variety of readings: *θεμέλια* (10 times); *βῆρις* (5); *ἄμφοδα* (2); with *οἶκος*, *πόλις*, *γῆ*, *ναός*, *ἄντρον*, *πυργόβαρις*, *ἐναντίον* once each. In the Vulgate we have *turris* (4), *templum* (1), *urbes* (1); in the other cases we find *aedes*, *domos*, *moenia*. The Syriac is much more consistent: once we have **ܠܚܬܐ** 'city,' and three times **ܠܬܝܒܐ** 'temple,' but in all other passages there stands **ܠܬܝܒܐ** 'palace.' This last is probably a conventional rendering of **תִּנְזָרִית**.

The Armenian shows a much greater variation; we have **սենեակ արքայի** 'chamber of the king' (1); **տանն արքայի** *οἶκος τοῦ βασιλέως* (2); **պարիսպ** *τείχη* (3); **տաճար** *ναός* (2); **աշտարակ** *πύργος* (2); **քաղաք** *πόλις* (3); **Հիմն**, **Հիմունք** *θεμέλια* (11); **սպարանք** *παλάτιον* (1); **երկիր** *γῆ* (1); **շուրջ** *ἀμφί* (1); **ամուրս** 'castle,' 'wall' (1); **գաւառք** *χωραί* (*Gauē*) (4); **աշխարհ** *χώρα* (country) (1); **Հրապարակ** *πλατεία* (1).

The Moscow Georgian Bible exhibits an equal diversity of rendering: **მიწაგანსა** 'interior' (1); **სახლი მეფისა** 'house of the king' (1); **გოდოლნი** 'towers' (1); **ტაძარი** 'temple' (4); **საფუძველნი სამეფო** 'royal foundation' (1); **სტუდე** 'wall' (1); **საფუძველნი** *θεμέλια* (9); **სახლნი** 'houses' (1); **ქალაქი** 'city' (2); **ქუეყანა** *γῆ* (1); **მწიბოლ გუბენი** *ἄμφοδα* (1); **უბან** *plateia* (1); **სოფლები** *κῶμαι* (3); and in two passages the word is not rendered at all. The subjoined table will make plain the relation of the different renderings of the several versions where the Hebrew reads **תִּנְזָרִית** or **תִּנְזָר**.

It is therefore clear that we have no parallel in any version

to the reading in L, nor is it evident how this latter could arise through misreading or corruption in any of the stages through which the archetype might have passed. We must leave the question merely with a *non liquet*, after noting an interesting variant.

The next question is as to the use of the word ზღოვბლი in the Old Testament. Inasmuch as there is no concordance, or even critical edition, of the Georgian Old Testament, one cannot be certain of finding all the passages where the term is used. As far as I can ascertain, it is used in seven passages to translate the Greek word *φλιά*. This word represents in the Hebrew text two different terms with divergent meaning; *הֶרְשֵׁל* *Oberschwelle* and *תִּרְפוֹסֶת* *Türpfoste*. It is used once by Symmachus to translate the latter term in the Hebrew where O' has *σταθμῶν*, once by Theodotion; in a third passage both translators have it. The Syriac uses three terms more or less indiscriminately: *ܠܗܝܠܐ*, resp. *ܠܗܝܠܐ* 8 times: *ܠܗܝܠܐ* (the Greek *παραστάς*, -άδος) 3 times: *ܠܗܝܠܐ* (Heb. *הֶרְשֵׁל*) once (*sed bis ibidem*). All these words are rather indefinite, and may be taken either as 'threshold,' 'doorpost,' or 'lintel.'

The Armenian translates the three cases in Exodus xii where the Hebrew has *הֶרְשֵׁל* by *բարակոր* 'lintel'; in all other cases we have *սեամբ* 'threshold,' except in Isaiah lvii. 8, where the word *դրանդեաց* 'doorposts' is used.

In the Georgian we find in M that ზღოვბლი is used seven times in three different forms; ზღოვბლი, ზღოვბლი, ზღოვბლი. It is used both in the singular and in the plural. This protean variation of form is not uncommon in Georgian; presumably the type we have in the text of L is the older. The word *φλιά* is translated by წყთილი 'doorpost' in two cases; in one other it is missing in M. *σταθμοί* is translated once by წყთილი and once by ზღოვბლი. The subjoined table gives the relation between the various readings.

At the beginning of chapter xviii three lines are left blank in the manuscript. This exactly coincides with the heading in I and O: *სიტყვა რა იყო იერემიასა მიმართ აზისა მარ და ჰერა*; in each manuscript this is in red, and I suspect that the same was true in the Oxford fragment. No mark of any

	Septuagint	Georgian (M)	Hebrew	Syriac (Pesh.)	Armenian	I	O	C
Exod. 12, 7	φλά	ზღუერბლთა	חַמֶּשֶׁשׁ	𐌕𐌗𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌐	բարաւորին	—	წყითლთა და ზღუერბლსა	წყითლთა და ზღუერბლთა
Exod. 12, 22	do.	ზღუერბლსა	do.	do.	զբարաւորան	—	ზღუერბლსა	ზღუერბლსა
Exod. 12, 23	do.	ზღუერბლსა	do.	do.	բարաւորին	—	ზღუერბლთა	—
Deut. 6, 9	do.	ზღუერბლსა	חֲמִשָּׁה	do.	սինցն... զկունս	—	—	ზღუერბლსა
Deut. 11, 20	do.	ზღუერბლსა	do.	do.	do.	—	—	ზღუერბლთა
1 Kgs. 1, 9	do.	წყრთილთა	do.	𐌕𐌗𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌐	սեամս	—	ზღუერბლთა	ზღუერბლთა
3 Kgs. 6, 31	do.	ზღუერბლსა	do.	𐌕𐌗𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌐	սեամս	—	—	ზღუერბლნი
3 Kgs. 6, 33	do.		do.	do.	do.	—	—	do.
Ezek. 43, 8	do.	ზღუერბლნი	do.	𐌕𐌗𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌐 𐌕𐌗𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌐	զսեամს սա սեամს	ზღუერბლსა... ზღუერბლთა	ზღუერბლნი	—
Ezek. 45, 19	do. (bis)	წყრთილთა	do. bis	𐌕𐌗𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌐 bis (𐌕𐌗𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌐)	սինց bis	წყრთილთა	წყრთილთა	—
Is. 57, 8	Symm. do. Aq. παραστάνος O' σαβμῶν	do.	do.	𐌕𐌗𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌐	զբանդիկաց	?	წყრთილთა	—
Prov. 8, 34	Theod. φλά O' σαβμῶν	ზღუერბლთა	do.	𐌕𐌗𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌐	զսեամს	—	ზღუერბლთა	ზღუერბლთა

chapter division is preserved, and the title of the following prophecy is absent. The use of the form ხახიდ saxid has already been discussed above (pp. 235–236). გებმნენ: subjunctive form with future meaning; second person singular of the objective category with the infix of the plural object -ნ- -n-; O and I have გებმნენ. The Armenian has *լուիցես* (fut.), the Greek *ἀκούσῃ*. მობ demonstrative pronoun in agreement with მეგებნას: L has along with the other versions და აჰა ‘and behold.’ This is not legible in the original, but has come out well in the photograph. [ხ]ოქმდა is fairly certain, the ხ x is lost, but must be restored by analogy with the form below. The და da ‘and’ after აჰა is peculiar. The other versions give us no assistance here. I have restored ხა[ქმ]ებს comparing the Syriac *ܚܚܐܝܬܐ*; I has ხაქმეთა; O omits it; the Greek has merely *ἐποίει ἔργον*; A simply *գործէր*. The next word can be restored with certainty from the following verse as ლოდ[ხა]. The Hebrew has *עַל הַבִּיטִּים* ‘on the stones’: O’ and A literally translate this *ἐπὶ λίθων*: ‘*ի վերայ վիմաց*’ S has the technical word *כִּלְבַּן* ‘potter’s wheel,’ ‘anvil.’ Now the reading in L has points of contact both with S_p and A_v; it stands in the singular, and also the word ლოდი lodi means in Georgian a ‘large stone’ or even ‘boulder,’ just as does the Armenian *վեժ*. This would seem to point to an original Armenian reading ‘*ի վերայ վիմի*’. M has ქვათა (plural), the ordinary word for ‘stone,’ as has I; O reads მათთა *eorum*. The following word განხეტა is a khanmeti form of განტინება and means possibly *διέπτεσεν*, ‘let escape’: the Hebrew and the Syriac have a root meaning ‘to mar’ or ‘to spoil’: the Greek and the Armenian, ‘to fall,’ as has M დავარდა. ჳვრჳერი; the archaic form without the dissimilation of the second რ r is to be restored; cf. the following verse. What came after რ^ლბა is hard to make out, but we can decipher on the photograph ხ . ქ [. .]: the dative case of the relative pronoun shows that the verb is in the present or the imperfect tense, and the instrumental case of გელითა makes the restoration ხოქმს or ხოქმდა almost certain. L also omits the words ‘from the clay’ with O’ against H S_p A_v: they are found in O

and I, though in different places. შეხიმოვსბო; the -ბ- must be used because of the passive form, as this can only be a perfect tense here: და შეხიმოვსბო is omitted by I and O. კოვლად: usually this word is written in contraction; the regular form is კოვლად, sometimes კოვლა. შექმნა means properly speaking 'create,' and with the directive case 'make into.' On სოჯინდა see above, pp. 233-234; for სათნო სოჯინდა I and O have სთნდა, from the same root as სათნო. წინაშე მისსა literally 'before him' with O' S_p A_v M. This goes back to the Greek, as ἐνώπιον frequently translates the Hebrew 'פָּנָיו. სექმედ is the translation of an infinitive construction, such as we have in O A_v, after which O adds იგი illud, and I, იგინი pl. (by error). The following line can be read in the photograph practically with certainty და [სიყო სიტყვა]ა იოა 'and (there) was the word of the Lord'; O' has λέγων, but the other versions use finite verbs, except M, which has მეტყუელი λέγων, a scholastic form patterned after the Greek. After მეკედება L and M insert ამას τοῦτο. In the following line L has the same word with the sense of δένασθαι (M has ძალმოც), as do I and O მექმლო: L, however, omits ქმნად, 'do' (I O მეხაქმედ); as in M ხახლო is to be restored from all versions. The word after იოწლობად is სიტყვა 'saith'; so with the Armenian.

L ამა გებრა = *აჯალაჟიქ* A_v, L გგრევა = *აჟაჟი* A_v, both with the demonstrative pronoun -ჟ d characteristic of the second person; in M we have another form with similar meaning გგრეთ. We have in both cola of the verse in L I O the singular გელსა 'hand,' in place of the plural, agreeing in this case with H against O' S_p A_v M.

In the following verse the word 𐌸𐌹 apparently means 'now . . . now.' The Greek has πέρασ . . . ἡ, which is followed by other versions; the Syriac reads ܡܕܝܬܐ, the Armenian *վախճան*, and LM (IO -ლი) have აღსახტელსა. The lexicographer Saba Sulkhan Orbeliani also read this word in his manuscript (s.v.).⁵² LIO read 'nations' or 'kingdoms' with some of the Greek manuscripts, but against H S_p A_v M, which have the singular. M also has აღსახტელი (nominative), because it has the aorist ვოქეა (vulgar form) instead of the

⁵² Edited by I. Qip'sidze and A. Šanidze, Tiflis, 1928, p. 27.

imperfect as in L. ადღებდა; imitation of an infinitive construction as in O' A_v; the original reading was literally translated, while მობძღვად in UIO (-აჲ M) is evidently a correct translation of the Armenian բառնալ or of the Greek ἐξᾶραι, in the sense not of 'take up,' but of 'destroy.' The difference in meaning in the verb is inherent in Hebrew, Greek, and Armenian. S_p A_v and IOL, however, agree with H against O' M in exhibiting three verbs, the first of which corresponds to the ἐξᾶραι of O', the second two to ἀπολλύειν. The first of these has just been discussed; both the other verbs in L have roughly the same significance — 'to destroy' although და-რღოვევად is rather 'to ruin' and წაწყმედად 'to annihilate.' დარღოვევად (evidently a dialectal variant of წყოვნაჲ √rqvn - √ryv) is not common in Old Georgian texts, but is found in certain tractates whose T'ao-Klardjet'ian origin is fairly well established, for example, in Epiphanius *περὶ τῶν ἰβ' λίθων*.

The form მობჰეცობ we have discussed above. IO have მობეცებ and the subject in the nominative. The Georgian here employs the causative aspect in a middle sense, which may reflect an Armenian construction; A_v reads *ჟარბეჴ* (passive), which is the ἐπιστραφή of O'. *ოჴვეთოჴტეძობა* 'evil actions' (IO -ბათა pl.); the Armenian has *ჯარბաց*, which may have this meaning, while the Greek has simply *κακῶν* (with S_p). L omits *πάντων* with H S_p A_v M, but also omits *αὐτῶν* against all other versions.

In the remainder of the verse L stands with all other versions against O'. The relative clause *ὣν ἐλογισάμην τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτοῖς* is attached to the *κακῶν* of the preceding colon with H and A_v — against S_p and O'. On the other hand, L does not agree with S_p and Chrysostom in putting the verb 'to repent' in the third person and in making 'people' the subject; O' H M L and A_v have it in the first person. After *ბოტოტა* (*ბოტოტეძათა* IO) probably came *ოჴბ*, which is the usual construction with this word in Georgian (so in IOM).

FRAGMENT 3A AND 3B

The third fragment is badly battered, and we can obtain but little continuous text from it.

Jeremiah xx. 9-16

- 9 as a kindled fire, burning in my bones, and I was loosed (?). . . .
- 10 . . . if he err, and we (*or* you) shall overcome them and . . . our vengeance from him . . . and my Lord . . . his. . . .
- 11-12 . . . see (?) . . . O Lord of powers, tester of justice, comprehender of the heart and reins I see . . . the vengeance . . . from thee. . . .
- 13-14 . . . evil . . . may it be[. . .]ed . . . on which . . . that day on which my mother bore me; let it not be one of prayer, let it be accursed. . . .
- 15-16 . . . repented . . . his . . . in the morning and a wailing.

The two words for 'burning' are used rather indiscriminately in Georgian just as is the case in the other languages. The form აღვზედული is usual for the passive past participle, 'which has been kindled.' I and O have the two words in reversed order. The passive seems rather forced there, and is probably an attempt to reproduce an Armenian passive participle in *-hawl* -eal, such as we have in A_v *ჟაღბაღ*. The second word შემწვაველი is active in form, and is, properly speaking, a *nomen agentis*, as the prefixed -მ- m shows; 'the burner.' We have, it is true, the same sequence of passive-active in the Greek *καίόμενον φλέγον*. The participial construction is rare in Georgian; can it be that we have here the trace of an Armenian present participle in *-awl-ogh* -awγ-ogh (e.g. *շինաღ*) which is by nature a *nomen agentis*? A has a passive form *გორგებულ*. The following verbal form is uncertain in the manuscript. The Hebrew reads *אני עֵיִף* 'I am weary with forbearing,' which is supported by the Syriac *ܐܝܢܐ ܥܝܦܐ* lit. 'it fails me to endure.' O' has *πάντοθεν παρείμαι* where *πάντοθεν* is a misreading of *ἐν παντί* as *ἐν πᾶσι*. A_v has 'I was loosed from all sides.' M has *გველგნოთ* *πάντοθεν* but the verb is unclear; *შეუცავ* probably *შეუცავ* 'I protected' (aorist), as in IO, followed by *გარემო*. The word in L is uncertain, but if my reading of the

letters is correct, we should probably restore და[ხ]ჳ[ტ]ხნდო παρῆμαι. The tense and the sense of this form stand closer to the Armenian.

Next comes a gap of ten lines in the manuscript, and the following passage is a real crux. The Hebrew is rather obscure; the Syriac has gone completely wild, the Armenian is equally bad, and the Greek is none too clear. M is also very confused. The first letters cannot be made out with certainty. In the next line [. . .]ახა. is clearly the dative case of some masdar which corresponds to ἐπίνοιαν. This may be the reading of I and O, ზრახვახა, but it cannot be the late expression მოგონება which we have in M. [. . .]ახა is probably [თჳ]ახა 'his.' ცთეს c't'es; the meaning of this subjunctive form we have discussed above (p. 257); the Armenian *խարբեսցի*, the third person singular of the passive voice. The Greek has ἀπατηθήσεται; M აცთუნეთ 'that ye lead them astray.' ზოთოჳ ძე ei; postponed, as often in Old Georgian. შესლჳძლოთ is probably the first person plural of the aorist subjunctive; O' has დუსიგომეხა, IO have ვხმლოთ; the same root slightly differentiated √dzlv √dzleb means in Georgian both κρατεῖν and δύνασθαι. I and O have დავძლოთ. The following verbal form is not preserved complete. M has მივიდლოთ 'that we take,' 'receive'; I მოვიგოთ; we have only one other case in the rest of the text where the Georgian form of the pronominal prefix of the first person is used (-ვ- -v-) შევიხანო. O omits და მოვიგოთ. However, the form იხწაონ shows that the dialectal prefixes are not used exclusively by the translator, and we should therefore probably read მივიდლოთ along with the other versions. The next word]მისგ[. . is almost certainly ა]მის გ[ან; cf. A' 'ი ზმანს; O' has ἐξ αὐτοῦ. The next two lines are probably to be filled out და ღოი ჩემ[თჳ ან]ვჳა მძრძლოთ in accordance with MOI. The Armenian has *էր erat*, but the general tenor of the phrase is better suited to the present ან 'is' in Georgian. The rest of the line is not clear. In what follows we should read დე]ვდეს; whether there was a pronominal object as in M მდევედეს; I O მდევენეს 'they pursued me' (imperfect or aorist), I do not know; the other versions show no trace of it.

In the next fragment the first understandable passage begins with the invocation to the Lord. If I have read the ლ I correctly in the preceding lines, we have a periphrastic form with the past participle as in M დავიწყებულ იქმენ: ვართ, if correct, can only be *vart*, 'we are,' that is, 'we have not forgotten,' but the reading is too dubious, and there is no support in the other versions. I and O have დავიწყეს. The word following ო^ა can only be ძალთა; the ო o of the vocative should be repeated, as the preceding words show. The vestiges of the following word make the completion გამომ[გ]დელ[ო] 'tester' practically certain; so also in M I and O. M has for the next word სამართლთა δικαίων, that is, 'just actions,' for which LIO have სამართლისაო 'justice.' This seems to stand apart from the other versions. გულის ზმის მყოფელ[ო] (IO მცნობელ[ო]) is certain, as is also [თი]რკოვმელთა. IO read გულთა. Presumably we should read მიხილავ[ს] (perfect tense) with M, but whether the particle მცა is also to be supplied after it is uncertain; there is room for it in any case. M has in the next line შურის მიება, which does not alter the sense, but IO have გება. The reading in L comes fairly close to A_v *an 'h pēn* შენ გან: we should probably read მათ in L after გება. The rest of the fragment is too broken for adequate restoration.

In the next passage]ოტ[is clearly a fragment of ბორ]ოტ[, 'evil'; it could hardly be the late denominative form and participial construction which we find in M მბორტტებელთას; IO have უკეთურთაჲს, which is an attempt to imitate the *πονηροσμένην* of O'. The next line is too fragmentary to make sense. In the next we have the ending of a participle, -ბულ -bul. On ხიყავნ and იყავნ see above, pp. 233-236. The rest of the verse gives no important variant; M has ზედღოცველ, a monstrosity which is intended to be a literal translation of *ἐπευκτή* in O'.

The last fragment gives us but little. :ონა: is evidently შეინანა 'he repented.' In the next line we should perhaps restore გე]ხმის 'thou hearest.' The first word for 'cry' cannot be დადადება, as in M, for the space is too small. ვალაღე-ბა[ღ] is also in M.

The British Museum fragment is too small to identify: recto გოჯღობ 'heart'; verso probably ხვტ]ყოფო მ[ა 'I said.'

We have now to analyze the general character both of the khanmeti fragments and of the other Georgian manuscripts. A collation is accordingly subjoined of L, I and O, U, and M with the text of Codex Vaticanus (B), along with which is given the testimony, where it exists, of other Greek manuscripts for the variant readings of the Georgian. The Greek readings are taken from the apparatus of Holmes and Parsons's edition. Such attestation of these readings as exists in the Syriac and the Armenian is also quoted. Variants which are extant in the Greek are quoted in Greek, as are also inversions of word order; those which are not attested in Greek are given in Latin, and if the divergence is translational in character, this is indicated in the right hand column.

B

L

ἄβατον	. . . et invium	translational
	+ et ante ἐτέθη	—
εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἀπωλείας	in invisible ad destru-	translational
	endum	
ἀφανισμῶ ἠφανίσθη	ἠφανίσθη ἀφανισμῶ	22, 36, 48, 62, 88, 96, 231, 233
ἡ γῆ	om ἡ	—
οὐκ	non quis	—
τιθέμενος	qui poneret	translational
διεκβολὴν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ	διεκβολὴν τῆς ἐρήμου	τῆς ἐρήμου 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 96, 229, 231
πυρούς	sing.	—
	+ fugaces post ἕκα-	—
	στον 1°	
μαθόντες μάθωσιν	doctu docuerint	διδάσκοντες διδάξωσι 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 96, 98, 106
	et iuraverint	
τοῦ ὀμνεῖν		translational
ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίαν	victimās et holocausto-	θυσίαν XII, 23, 86, 144,
καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ	mata et sacrificium	198 Alex
μάννα καὶ λίβανον	et tus	
	om ἔσται	22, 48, 51, 62, 96, 231
βαστάγματα	pondus	—

B

L

τοῦ μὴ αἶρειν	et ut non tollatis	translational
	om καὶ ante ἀνάψω	—
αὐτῆς	Ἱερουσαλήμ	—
ἄμφοδα	limina	vide supra, pp. 254–256
ὁ λόγος . . . λέγων	om L	vide supra, p. 227
	+ tu post. κατὰ βῆθι	—
	+ et post ἰδοῦ	—
	+ suum post ἔργον	—
ἔπεσεν	διέπεσεν	XII, 22, 23, 33, 36, 41, 48, 49, 51, 62, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 198, 228, 231, 233, 239: Orig. Cyril. Alex.
αὐτοῦ	ἐαυτοῦ, post quod + L super lapides et con- fractum est	
ἐνώπιον	ἐναντίον	XII, 22, 23, 33, 36, 41, 48, 49, 51, 62, 87, 88, 90, 91, 96, 106, 144, 198, 228, 229, 231, 239: cf. Cyril. Alex.
λέγων	καὶ εἶπέν μοι	εἶπεν αὐτοῖς XII in mg. ✕, 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 86 in mg. sub. ✕, 196, 228, 231
καθὼς . . . ὑμᾶς	et sicut figulo illi non- ne possum et vobis	ὑμῖν (sed cum verbo ποιῆσαι) 22, 36, 51, 62, 96, 229, 231
	+ ἐν χερσίν post πηλός	Alex sub. ✕ char. min. 22, 36, 51, 62, 88 sub ✕, 96, 229
	+ οὕτως ante ὑμεῖς	22, 36, 48, 51, 96, 231
ἐν χερσίν	ἐν χειρὶ	
	+ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ post μου	23, 26, 33, 49, 90, 91, 106, 228, 233, 239, Alex mg.
ἐπὶ ἔθνος ἢ βασιλείαν	πρὸς ἔθνη ἢ βασιλείας	ἐπὶ ἔθνη 106
τοῦ ἐξᾶραι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ ἀπολλύειν	tollere eos et destruere et extirpare	+ καὶ καθελεῖν 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 88 sub ✕

B

L

		96, 229, 231 Theodoret; + καὶ κατασκάπτειν Chrysos.; + καὶ ἀνασκάπτειν Arm
om πάντων		XII, 22, 23, 26, 33, 36, 48, 49, 51, 62, 87, 88, 90, 91, 96, 144, 198, 228, 229, 231, 233
τῶν κακῶν	τῆς πονηρίας	
	ῶν . . . αὐτοῖς post αὐτῶν	
	ἐλογισάμην] dicebam	ἐλάλησα 8 62, 88
	+ δυνάμεων post Κύριε καρδίαν καὶ νεφρούς	22, 36, 48, 96, 231
τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐκδίκησιν κραυγῆς . . . ἀλαλαγμοῦ	παρὰ σοῦ post ἐκδίκησιν ἀλαλαγμοῦ . . . κραυγῆς	

I + O

ἄβατον	ἄνοδος	—
οὐκ	om ἡ ante γῆ	—
τιθέμενος	non quis	—
	qui poneret hoc (illud O)	—
διεκβολὴν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ πυρούς αὐτοῦ μαθόντες μάθωσιν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ λαοῦ μου	διεκβολὰς τῆς ἐρήμου sing. αὐτῶν om μαθόντες: docuerint τὸν λαόν μου τὴν ὁδὸν μου I:	cf. L — — — 51, 62, 96, 106, 198
	τὴν ὁδὸν μου τὸν λαόν ἐκείνόν μου	τὴν ὁδὸν μου 22, 36, 48, 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 96, 198, 231
φέροντες 1° . . . κυρίου	offerebant sacrificium et holocaustoma, manna et tus, capient ad oblationem domui Domini	om θυμιάματα 33, 91, 228 22, 31, 48, 62, 96, 231
	om ἔσται	cf. L
τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ μὴ αἵρειν	τὰς ἡμέρας om μὴ I	— om. μὴ Arm. ed.

B

I + O

βαστάγματα

pondus I: om τοῦ

. . . βαστάγματα καὶ

O

om ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν

σαββάτων O

ἀμφόδα

moenia I; terga O

cf. pp. 254-256

παρὰ Κυρίου πρὸς

πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν ὑπὸ Κυ-
ρίουXII, 22, 26, 33, 36, 48,
62, 86, 87, 88, 91,
96, 228, 231, 233;
Origen

Ἱερεμίαν λέγων

καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος (om O)

αὐτὸς ἐποίει

ἐποίει αὐτός I

—

ἔργον

ἔργα I: ἔργον . . . λί-
θων] λίθων αὐτῶν O

—

om καὶ O

—

ἔπεσεν

διέπεσεν

cf. L

δ αὐτὸς ἐποίει ἐν ταῖς
χερσὶν αὐτοῦἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ δ
ἐποίει ἐκ πηλοῦ36, 48, 51, 62, 96, 231,
239

om αὐτός

XII, 22, 27, 41, 48, 51,

+ αὐτά I (αὐτό O) post
ποιῆσαι62, 88, 96, 198, 229,
231, 233

λέγων

et dixit mihi: Dic
illis (his O)εἰπέ XII, 22, 36, 48,
51, 62, 86, 96, 228,
231

om εἰ I

om καθὼς O

om οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ I, post

—

quod + dixit Domi-
nus I O22, 36, 48, 51, 86, 198,
229, 231, 233

ἔθνος

ἔθνη

106

ἥ

καὶ I

33, 48, 87, 90, Chrys.
Theodoret

βασιλείαν

βασιλείας I: βασιλέα O

τοῦ ἐξᾶραι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ
ἀπολλύεινtollere eos et destruere
(extirpare [sic] O)
et extirpare

cf. L

κακῶν

κακιῶν

+ ἐγὼ post καὶ

κακῶν

κακιῶν

B

I + O

	+ καὶ συνεχόμενον post	22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 88,
	φλέγον	96, 229, 231, 233
	om ἄνδρες O	Arm. ed.
τήρησον	κατασκοπήσατε	—
δυνησόμεθα	vincemus	—
	+ δυνάμεων post Κύριε	cf. L
καρδία	καρδίας	—
	om καὶ	
πονηρευομένων	πονηρῶν	
κραυγῆς . . . ἀλαλαγμοῦ	ἀλαλαγμοῦ . . . κραυγῆς	

U + M

	om ἡ ante γῇ	—
ἐπὶ πᾶσαν διεκβολήν	ἐν πάσαις τρίβοις	cf. Syr
ἦλθον	ἐλθόντες	—
εἰς . . . κληρονομίαν	ἐπὶ . . .	—
εἰς . . . γῆν	ἐπὶ . . .	—
μαθόντες μάθωσιν	docentes docuerint	vide L
θυσίαν	θυσίας	vide L
	+ καὶ ante φέροντες 2°	26, 49, 87, 88, 90, 198, 228
αἶνεσιν	ad laudandum	
εἰς οἶκον	πρὸς (?) οἶκον	
	om μὴ ante εἰσπορεύ-	XII, 22, 33, 51, 62, 86,
	εσθαι	88, 96, 198, 231, 233
	om καὶ ante ἔπαισεν: hoc	—
	verbum in ms. scrip-	
	tum manu posteri-	
	ori	
	+ ἐκ πηλοῦ post ἐποίει	vide I
	om αὐτός	vide I
	+ Dic illis post λέγων	vide I
	figulo illi	
	+ dicit post Ἰσραήλ	
	Dominus in ms., nunc	vide I
	expunctum	
	+ ἐν χειρὶ post πηλός	vide L
	+ οὕτως ante ὑμεῖς	vide L
	+ οἶκος Ἰσραήλ post	vide L
	μοῦ	
	om πάντων	vide L

B	U + M	
κακῶν	κακιῶν (?)	vide I
	+ και συνεχόμενον post φλέγον	
ει	ἥ	
δυνησόμεθα	vincemus	—
	+ δυνάμεων post Κύριε	vide I
	+ ἔστω, hodie expunc- tum, post ἐπικατά- ρατος	—
	+ ἐν καιρῷ post ἀλα- λαγμοῦ	XII mg sub ※, 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 88 sub ※, 96, 228, 231, s m. s.

From the preceding analysis certain general facts are obvious. The Georgian codices, while differing widely among themselves so far as rendering and details go, show a strong basic element, common to all three versions, that is very different from B. Among Greek manuscripts the textual affiliations of this divergent strain are definitely connected with the strongly hexaplaric group of manuscripts headed by Q. All other Greek testimony is scattered and uncertain. The version in MU is somewhat less close to the Hexapla than are the other two: it would appear that it has undergone some revision, and, as the Greek text has undoubtedly influenced U directly, the Greek manuscripts used for the revision must have been distinctly less hexaplaric in character than the ultimate archetypes of L and I and O.

Peshitto

Jer. xii. 10-12; p. 603, col. 2.
Shepherds many have spoiled
my vineyard. They have
trampled upon my portion.
They have made my desirable
portion as a waterless desert.
They have made it desolate.
They have destroyed it. The
waste makes lamentation for

Armenian

Jer. xii. 10-12. They shall make
the desirable lot of mine a
trackless desert; it is become
(*positus est*) a destruction of
desolation; through (*lit.* be-
cause of) me has been de-
stroyed with destruction the
whole earth, so that not near
has become its restitution, that

me. The whole land is desolate, for there is no one who cares. ¹²By all the desert paths the destroyers have come. For the sword of the Lord consumeth from the ends of the earth to the ends of the earth. No flesh has any peace. . . .

15-16; p. 606, col. 1. And after I uproot them, I will repent and have mercy upon them and return them each man to his heritage and each man to his land. ¹⁶And if they teach my ways to my people, to swear by my name, as the Lord liveth, as they have taught them to swear by Baal, they will be built up (*reading* ⴌⴓⴓⴓ *instead of* ⴌⴓⴓ) in the midst of my people. . . .

xvii. 26-27; p. 608, col. 1. And there will come from the villages of Judah around Jerusalem, and from the land of Benjamin, from the plain and from the mountain, and from the south, those who bring sacrifices and offerings and incense, and (those who) bring thanksgiving to the house of the Lord. ²⁷But if you will not obey me to make holy the sabbath day, so that you will not bear a burden nor enter the gates of Jerusalem on the sabbath day, I will set fire to its gates and it will consume the palaces of Jerusalem. It will not be extinguished.

there is not a man who putteth it in his heart, ¹²to every exit of the waste they came in trouble. . . .

15-16. . . . and I shall settle them each in his heritage and each in his land; and it shall be, after they are cast out, I shall return and take pity upon them, and I shall settle them each in his own heritage and each in his land, ¹⁶and if they by learning learn the road of my congregation, to swear in my name, Liveth the Lord, as they taught my congregation to swear by Baal. . . .

xvii. 26-27. And let them come (*or, they shall come*) from the cities of Judah around Jerusalem, and from Benjamin, and from the plains and from the mountain districts and from the lands of the south, bearing thank-offerings and incense and manna and incense, that they might bring gifts to the house of the Lord. ²⁷Then if ye shall not hear me to keep holy the day of the sabbath, not to take up my (your) burden and carry it into the gates of Jerusalem on the day of the sabbath, I shall kindle a fire in their gates, and it shall devour around Jerusalem and shall not be quenched.

xviii. 1-8. The word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord, saying: ²Arise, go down to the house of the potter, and there I will cause thee to hear my words. ³And I went down to the house of the potter according to the word of the Lord, and lo! he was making a work upon the wheel, ⁴and the vessel of clay which he was making was spoiled in the hand of the potter, but he again made another vessel according as he wished (it). ⁵And the word of the Lord came to me, saying: ⁶As this potter, can I not do to you, house of Israel? The Lord saith, Behold! as clay in the hands of the potter, so are you in my hands, house of Israel. ⁷If all at once I say concerning a people or a kingdom, Let it be uprooted (*infinitive*) and destroyed and overthrown and brought to nought, ⁸but that people repent from its evil, I shall turn from the evil which I had planned to do to it. . . .

xx. 9. And I have said, I will not mention him nor speak again in his name, but there was in my heart as a fire that blazes and burns fiercely in my bones. And I sought to endure, but I could not. . . .

10. For I have heard the mocking of the many who are gathered around me. They all say, those who ask after my health (*or* peace) with their

xviii. 1-8. The word which was to Jeremiah from the Lord and he sayeth: ²Arise, go down into the house of the potter ³and lo, he was working over his stones (*qbdung*), ⁴and there fell a vessel which he was making from the clay out of his hands, and again he made another vessel, as was pleasing before him to do. ⁵And then was the word of the Lord to me and (he) sayeth: ⁶if as this potter, can I not do to you, the house of Israel, saith the Lord. Behold, as is the clay in the hands of the potter, so are ye in my hand, the house of Israel. ⁷If I shall speak the end upon the folk or upon the kingdoms to destroy them and to demolish and to annihilate, ⁸and this people shall be turned from its evils, which I spake against them, and I too shall repent of those evils which I have purposed to do against them. . . .

xx. 9. . . . like a blazing fire, burning in my bones, and I was abandoned from every side (*or* country). . . .

10-12. that I heard the blame (*plur.*) of many around me of crowding assemblies: Come and we shall arise up against him all men who are friendly

- lips but hate me in their hearts: Show him to us, and we will oppose him. Perhaps he will be cajoled by us, and we will exact our vengeance from him.
12. But O mighty Lord, the prover of the righteous, the examiner of the reins and heart, I will see thy retribution upon them. . . .
13. . . . for he has set free the soul of the poor (man) from the hand of the evil-doers. Cursed be the day in which I was born. The day in which my mother bore me, let it not be blessed. Cursed be the man who bore the (good) tidings to my father. . . .
16. Let that man be as the cities which the Lord overthrew and to which he was not reconciled. Let him hear a wailing in the morning and a bawling at noon. . . .
- to him; devise devices against him, although he deceive, and we shall conquer him, and wreak our vengeance against him, ¹¹and the Lord is with me as a warrior, and hath made me strong; wherefore they are pursued and think up means they cannot; greatly were they weakened so that in no wise did they understand their disgrace which till all eternity shall not be forgot. ¹²And the Lord of power, who weighest just actions and who understandest the heart and the reins, may I see the vengeance from thee upon them. . . .
- xx. 13. that he hath saved the soul of the poor (man) from the hands of the evil (men), cursed be the day in which I was born, and the day on which my mother bore me. Let it not be gladness, cursed be the man who gave rejoicing to my father. . . .
16. . . . and did not repent: let him hear a cry at dawn and a wailing in the midday tide. . . .

It remains to sum up the general results of this study.

(1) The Georgian fragments of Jeremiah are extremely ancient, as both language and palaeography show. They are probably to be dated in the eighth century.

(2) They belong to a complete codex of the prophets, and not to a lectionary.

(3) They belong to a period when the khanmeti peculiarities were beginning to die out in Georgian literature.

(4) They go back to an Armenian original, and have not been directly affected by the Greek text.

(5) Textually, they belong in the direct line of the Georgian tradition and betray strong influence from the Hexapla.

NOTES

GREEK SCRIPT AND GEORGIAN SCRIBES ON MT. SINAI

IN a joint article on the Koridethi Gospels, published by K. Lake and the writer some years since,¹ attention was called to the eclectic character of the Greek alphabet employed in the Koridethi codex, and emphasis laid on the mechanical and unnatural ductus of the writing.² I there advanced the hypothesis that these peculiarities, when taken in connection with certain others, tended to show that the scribe was not a Hellene by birth, but probably a foreigner, and that the presence of a Coptic word in one of the adscriptions would show that the ms. was written in an area not too far removed from Egypt. Sinai was suggested as the possible place of origin.³ My arguments were attacked by J. de Zwaan and, although on certain fundamental points I felt obliged to differ with his interpretation,⁴ I could at the time adduce no further data in support of my contentions.

Since then some interesting material has come into my hands which bears out the general hypothesis previously propounded, even if it does not specifically support my views with regard to the Koridethi codex. There can be no question that in the Christian East scribes and copyists were able to write more than one language and not infrequently did so. The general truth of this statement is widely recognized by scholars, but its specific bearing is not infrequently forgotten by them when dealing with individual cases. It seems worth while, therefore, to assemble such instances of this general phenomenon as I have run across in my studies, before bringing up the specific testimony which forms the special object of this note.

We must point out in the first place the fact that a large number of writers at various epochs were capable of composing works of considerable merit in two or more of the literary languages of the Christian-Mahometan East. Thus numerous instances might be alleged of writers who handled both Arabic and Syriac, Persian and Arabic,

¹ 'The Text of the Gospels and The Koridethi Codex,' *Harvard Theological Review*, XVI, July 1923, pp. 267-286.

² *Ibid.* pp. 278 f.

³ *Harvard Theological Review*, XVIII, pp. 113-114.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 114.

Persian and Turkish, Persian, Turkish, and Armenian, Armenian and Syriac, Georgian and Greek, not to mention more unusual philological combinations. There was, however, a much larger group of persons, who, without having themselves the ability to write, were able to speak and read the other tongues, but for whom the unfamiliar script made difficulty. Hence we find transcriptions employed, sometimes on a grand scale. The best instances of this are the Karshuni mss., where Arabic texts are written in Syriac letters, but other combinations occur, such as Syriac in Armenian letters and vice versa, Greek in Persian,⁵ Turkish in Armenian.⁶ Turkish newspapers printed in Greek and Armenian characters were a familiar sight in Constantinople before the late War.

During a recent visit to Sinai, some evidence turned up which furnishes us with an opportunity of watching bilingual scribes at work. It is not at all uncommon to find quaternion signatures in mss. written in two different characters, but transcriptions and tags of this sort by the hand of the scribe himself are much rarer. Some examples, however, of this latter category did turn up in certain of the Georgian mss. of Sinai.

The first of these was a liturgical ms., called in the colophon an იადგარი *iadgari*.⁷ This can perhaps be best put into Greek liturgical terminology as *πανδέκτης*. It is an abbreviated collection of certain important sections of the liturgy, menaion, and the main cyclical chant-books and hymn-books. In both the copies⁸ of this liturgical work that are preserved among the Georgian mss. on Sinai, the tag-titles to the hymns are given in Greek in Georgian transcription. Various explanations might be given as to why this should be so, but the fact that the tags are given in Greek is the thing which primarily interests us here.

The reverse of this procedure is to be seen in the very ancient collection of *ἀσκητικά* in the ms. Georg. Sinai 35 (Tsagareli, No. 80). Here we meet with some actual titles in Greek letters in the midst of the Georgian text; their spelling and palaeographical execution show clearly that the author was but vaguely acquainted with the Greek language. On the verso of page 6, at the heading of the third apocryphal epistle of St. Anthony, the scribe copies the title in Greek letters

⁵ See G. Meyer, 'Die griechischen Verse im Rabābnāma,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1895, pp. 401-411.

⁶ The Armenian poets of the 15th century.

⁷ On this word see Н. Марръ, *Житіе св. Григорія Хандзт'іискаго*, С. Петербургъ, 1911, p. viii.

⁸ mss. No. 1 and No. 3 (Tsagareli, No. 63 and No. 65).

f. 6 v

СВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО

ANTO NTCI ΓΖ

1. K P Q R T S T T R R R R R

A C f. 70 B 4 f. 82

7. $E_{f.302}$

71 f. 70r

7C \overline{KA} p. 105v

22 KΓ f. 181v

q. 5 R.D. f. 189v

4. K. B. f. 173v


47 KE. f. 197r

K.S. f. 205v

676 KZ f. 213v

7/2: KH f. 22 v

K ~~Ø~~ f. 229v


 A stylized drawing of a person in a dynamic pose, possibly a dancer or athlete, with a long, flowing skirt or dress. The figure is facing left, with one leg raised and arms extended. The drawing is done in a simple, sketchy style with some cross-hatching for shading.

but in the Georgian form: ΕΒΙΣΤΟΑΕΗ ΑΗΤΟΗΙΣΙ Γ. This is immediately followed by the title in Georgian script. The same manuscript contains in a number of instances quaternion marks in both languages. I adduce copies of various examples so as to give as many letters of the alphabet as are preserved. The first two are given in the natural size of the script, the others in somewhat reduced dimensions. These were copied as carefully as might be by the writer and his wife, and are here reproduced on the following page. I think that the kinship in general ductus between them and the hand of the Koridethi manuscripts is fairly evident.

The date of the Georgian manuscript, whose colophon, if it ever had any, has been lost, is quite uncertain. It is written in *asomt'avruli* (Georgian capital letters) of a very peculiar type. Similar forms are not uncommon in inscriptions, but almost never occur in manuscripts. I should hesitate to attempt to date it, but it can not be earlier than the beginning of the 10th century, by reason both of its general aspect and also of its contents, which unquestionably belong to the oldest stratum of Georgian translational literature. On a priori grounds it is likely that this manuscript was not written on Sinai, but belongs to one of the Palestinian centres.

I am fully conscious of the fact that the above evidence in no way proves that the contention made in the previous article is valid in that instance, but I submit that it distinctly enhances the likelihood that a more lengthy task of copying could have been carried out by a scribe in the manner suggested and upon Mt. Sinai.

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